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1831







THE  
BEAUTIES  
OF  
PLUTARCH;

CONSISTING OF  
SELECTIONS FROM HIS WORKS

—●—  
BY ALFRED HOWARD, ESQ.  
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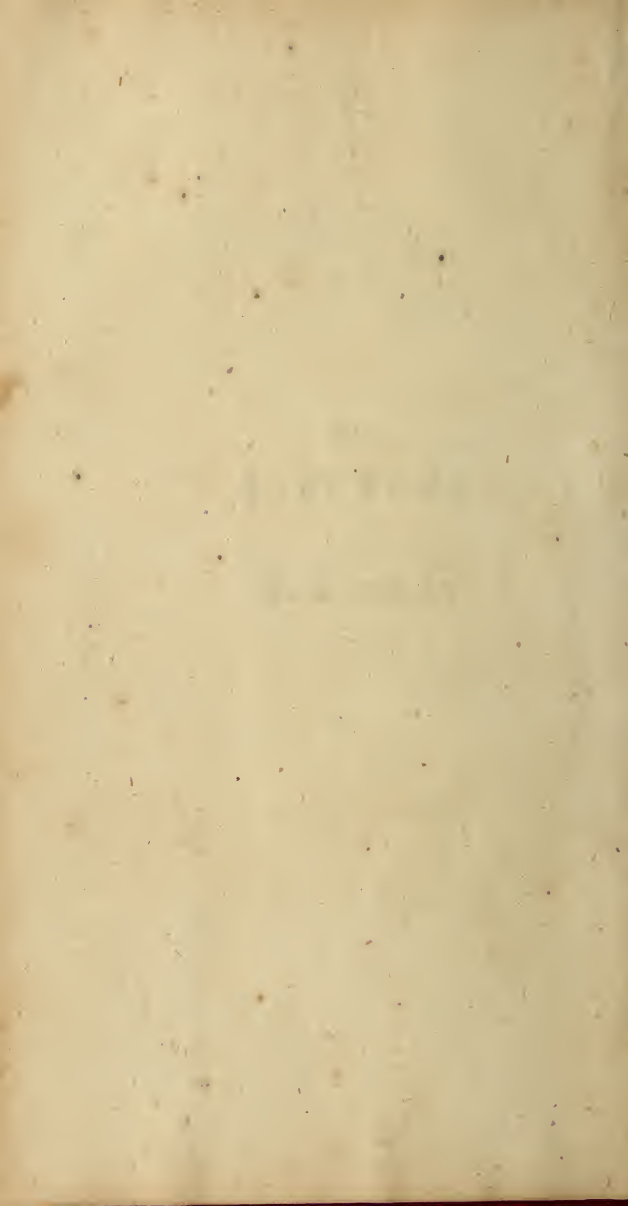
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# PLUTARCH.



## AGESILAUS AND POMPEY COMPARED.

SUCH is the account we had to give of the lives of these two great men ; and in drawing up the parallel we shall previously take a short survey of the difference in their character.

In the first place, Pompey rose to power, and established his reputation, by just and laudable means ; partly by the strength of his own genius, and partly by his services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts at despotism. Whereas Agesilaus came to the throne by methods equally immoral and irreligious ; for it was by accusing Leotychidas of bastardy, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate son, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due respect to Sylla during his life, and took care to see his remains honourably interred, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from Lepidus ; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Faustus, the son of Sylla. On the other hand, Agesilaus shook off Lysander upon a

slight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the services Pompey received from Sylla were not greater than those he had rendered him ; whereas Agesilaus was appointed king of Sparta by Lysander's means, and afterwards captain-general of Greece.

In the third place, Pompey's offences against the laws and the constitution were principally owing to his alliances, to his supporting either Cæsar or Scipio (whose daughter he had married) in their unjust demands. Agesilaus not only gratified the passion of his son, by sparing the life of Sphodrias, whose death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians, but he likewise screened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was visibly for the sake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In short, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance or a timorous complaisance for his friends, Agesilaus brought as great distresses upon the Spartans, through a spirit of obstinacy and resentment ; for such was the spirit that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, when we are mentioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortune, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey ; but the Lacedæmonians were sufficiently forewarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Agesilaus would not suffer them to avail themselves of that warning. Nay, supposing Leotychidas a mere stranger, and as much a bastard as he was, yet the family of Eurytion could easily have supplied Sparta with a king who was neither spurious nor maimed, had not Lysander been industrious enough to render the oracle obscure for the sake of Agesilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer measure than that of Agesilaus, when, in the distress of the Spartans how to proceed against the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws should be silent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can possibly be compared to it. On the contrary, he thought himself exempted from observing the laws he had made, and that his transgressing them showed his friends his superior power; whereas Agesilaus, when under the necessity of contravening the laws, to save a number of citizens, found out an expedient which saved both the laws and the criminals. I must also reckon among his political virtues his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the scytale, which ordered him to leave Asia in the height of his success. For he did not, like Pompey, serve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatness; the good of his country was his great object, and, with a view to that, he renounced such power and so much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and consider their military performances, the trophies which Pompey erected were so numerous, the armies he led so powerful, and the pitched battles he won so extraordinary, that I suppose Xenophon himself would not compare the victories of Agesilaus with them; though that historian, on account of his other excellencies, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of saying what he pleased of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies in point of equity and moderation. Agesilaus was bent upon enslaving Thebes,

and destroyed Messene ; the former the city from which his family sprung, the latter Sparta's sister colony ; and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itself. On the other hand, Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, bestowed cities on such as were willing to change their way of life ; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather chose to make him an ally, on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, " I prefer the glory that will last for ever to that of a day."

But if the pre-eminence in military virtue is to be decided by such actions and counsels as are most characteristic of the great and wise commander, we shall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the first place, he never abandoned his city, though it was besieged by seventy thousand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppose them with, and those lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey, upon Cæsar's advancing with five thousand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic ; either meanly yielding to so trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left those of the other citizens in a defenceless state, when he ought either to have stayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted such conditions as the conqueror might impose, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before he thought it insupportable to prolong the term of his commission, and to grant him another consulship ; and now he suffered him to take possession of the city ; and to tell Metellus, " That he con-



sidered him, and all the other inhabitants, as his prisoners.”

If it is the principal business of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is stronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is weaker, Agesilaus understood that rule perfectly well, and, by observing it, continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæsar at a disadvantage ; on the contrary, he suffered Cæsar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at land. The consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provisions, and the sea itself, when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this case, it reflects the greatest dishonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent their senate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors, to those who stayed and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome ; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greatest reputation as general ; for such a one to be forced by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to risk the fate of the whole empire and of liberty upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it? If he dreaded only present infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city

of Rome : and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themistocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Thessaly as a dishonour. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities ; nay, his command of the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had no less tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions : nor were the calumnies and slanders he met with in Egypt from the madness of the king less grating, when he advised that king to lie still for a time. Yet by pursuing the sage measures he had first fixed upon, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but kept Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her ; nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans ; for by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were so obstinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterward. Hence it was that Agesilaus was praised by the persons whom he had saved by violence, and Pompey who committed an error in complaisance to it. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law, Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own use the treasures he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action under the pretence that the supplies would soon fail. But, supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor

in consequence of being so deceived, have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity ; the other, without any necessity or sufficient cause, listed himself in the service of a barbarous prince, to raise a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks. So that if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by those in whom he put his trust ; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES COMPARED WITH  
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

Thus we have given the history of these great men severally, and it remains that we take a view of them in comparison with each other. Those who hated the Gracchi, and endeavoured the most to disparage them, never durst deny, that of all the Romans of their time, nature had disposed them most happily to virtue, or that this disposition was cultivated by the most excellent education. But nature appears to have done still more for Agis and Cleomenes ; for though they not only wanted the advantages of education, but were trained to such manners and customs as had corrupted many before them, yet they became examples of temperance and sobriety.

Besides, the Gracchi lived at a time when Rome was in her greatest glory ; a time that was distinguished by a virtuous emulation ; and of course they must have had a natural aversion to give up the inher-

itance of virtue which they had received from their ancestors. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes had had parents of very different principles, and found their country in a very diseased and unhappy state ; and yet these things did not in the least abate their ardour in the pursuits of honour.

We have a strong proof of the disinterested views of the Gracchi, and their aversion to avarice, in their keeping themselves clear of all iniquitous practices in the whole course of their administration. But Agis might even have resented it, if any one had commended him for not touching the property of others, since he distributed his whole substance among the citizens of Sparta, which, besides other considerable articles, consisted of six hundred talents in money. What a crime then must unjust gain have appeared to him, who thought it nothing less than avarice to possess more than others, though by the fairest title !

If we consider them with respect to the hardness of their enterprises, and the new regulations they wanted to establish, we shall find the two Grecians greatly superior. One of the two Romans applied himself principally to making roads and colonizing towns. The boldest attempt of Tiberius was the distribution of the public lands ; and Caius did nothing more extraordinary than the joining an equal number of the equestrian order in commission with the three hundred patrician judges.

The alterations which Agis and Cleomenes brought into the system of their commonwealth were of a different nature. They saw a small and partial amendment was no better, as Plato expresses it, than the cutting off one of the hydra's heads, and therefore they introduced a change that might remove all

the distempers of the constitution at once. Perhaps we may express ourselves with more propriety, if we say that, by removing the changes that had caused all their misfortunes, they brought Sparta back to its first principles.

Possibly it may not be amiss to add, that the measures the Gracchi adopted were offensive to the greatest men in Rome ; whereas all that Agis meditated, and Cleomenes brought to bear, had the best and most respectable authorities to support it ; I mean the sanction of Lycurgus or Apollo\*

What is still more considerable, by the political measures of the Gracchi, Rome made not the least acquisition of power or territory ; whereas, through those of Cleomenes, Greece saw the Spartans in a little time become masters of Peloponnesus, and contending for superiority with the most powerful princes of that age ; and this without any other view than to deliver Greece from the incursions of the Illyrians and Gauls, and put her once more under the protection of the race of Hercules.

The different manner of the deaths of these great men appears also to me to point out a difference in their characters. The Gracchi fought with their fellow-citizens, and being defeated, perished in their flight. Agis, on the other hand, fell almost a voluntary sacrifice, rather than that any Spartan should lose his life on his account. Cleomenes, when insulted and oppressed, had recourse to vengeance ; and, as circumstances did not favour him, had courage enough to give himself the fatal blow.

If we view them in another light, Agis never distinguished himself as a general ; for he was killed before he had an opportunity of that kind ; and with

the many great and glorious victories of Cleomenes, we may compare the memorable exploit of Tiberius, in being the first to scale the walls of Carthage, and his saving twenty thousand Romans, who had no other hope of life, by the peace which he happily concluded with the Numantians. As for Caius, there were many instances of his military talents both in the Numantian war and in Sardinia. So that the two brothers would probably one day have been ranked with the greatest generals among the Romans, had they not come to an untimely death.

As to their political abilities, Agis seems to have wanted firmness and despatch. He suffered himself to be imposed upon by Agesilaus, and performed not his promise to the citizens of making a distribution of lands. He was, indeed, extremely young, and on that account had a timidity which prevented the completion of those schemes that had so much raised the expectation of the public. Cleomenes, on the contrary, took too bold and too violent a method to effectuate the changes he had resolved on in the police of Sparta. It was an act of injustice to put the ephori to death, whom he might either have brought over to his party by force, because he was superior in arms, or else have banished, as he did many others. For to have recourse to the knife, except in cases of extreme necessity, indicates neither the good physician nor the able statesman, but unskilfulness in both. Besides, in politics that ignorance is always attended with injustice and cruelty. But neither of the Gracchi began the civil war, or dipped his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Caius, we are told, even when attacked, did not repel force with force ; and, though none behaved with greater courage and



vigour than he in other wars, none was so slow to lift up his hand against a fellow-citizen. He went out unarmed to a scene of fury and sedition ; when the fight began he retired ; and, through the whole, appeared more solicitous to avoid the doing of harm than the receiving it. The flight therefore of the Gracchi must not be considered as an act of cowardice, but patriotic discretion. For they were under a necessity either of taking the method they did, or of fighting in their own defence if they stayed.

The strongest charge against Tiberius is, that he deposed his colleague, and sued for a second tribuneship. Caius was blamed for the death of Antyllus, but against all reason and justice ; for the fact was committed without his approbation, and he looked upon it as a most unhappy circumstance. On the other hand, Cleomenes, not to mention any more his destroying the ephori, took an unconstitutional step in enfranchising all the slaves ; and, in reality, he reigned alone, though, to save appearances, he took in his brother Euclidas as a partner in the throne, who was not of the other family that claimed a right to give one of the kings to Sparta. Archidamus, who was of that family, and had as much right to the throne, he persuaded to return from Messene. In consequence of this he was assassinated ; and, as Cleomenes made no inquiry into the murder, it is probable that he was justly censured as the cause of it. Whereas Lycurgus, whom he pretended to take as his pattern, freely surrendered to his nephew Charilaus the kingdom committed to his charge ; and that he might not be blamed in case of his untimely death, he went abroad and wandered a long time in foreign countries ; nor did he return till Charilaus had

a son to succeed him in the throne. It is true, Greece had not produced any other man who can be compared to Lycurgus.

We have shown that Cleomenes, in the course of his government, brought in greater innovations, and committed more violent acts of injustice. And those that are inclined to censure the persons of whom we are writing represent Cleomenes as, from the first, of a tyrannical disposition and a lover of war. The Gracchi they accuse of immoderate ambition, malignity itself not being able to find any other flaw in them. At the same time they acknowledge that those tribunes might possibly be carried beyond the dictates of their native disposition by anger, and the heat of contention, which, like so many hurricanes, drove them at last upon some extremes in their administration. What could be more just or meritorious than their first design, to which they would have adhered, had not the rich and great, by the violent methods they took to abrogate their law, involved them both in those fatal quarrels ; the one to defend himself, and the other to revenge his brother, who was taken off without any form of law and justice.

From these observations you may easily perceive the difference between them ; and, if you required me to characterize each of them singly, I should say that the palm of virtue belongs to Tiberius ; young Agis had the fewest faults ; and Caius, in point of courage and spirit of enterprise, was little inferior to Cleomenes.



## ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS COMPARED.

Having now given a detail of all the actions of these two great men that we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance that as to their military exploits the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as soldiers, and of prudence and capacity as commanders-in-chief: though perhaps some may think Alcibiades the more complete general on account of his many successful expeditions at sea as well as land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command, and fought in person, the affairs of their country infallibly prospered, and as infallibly declined when they went over to the enemy.

As to their behaviour in point of government, if the licentiousness of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humour of the populace, were abhorred by the wise and sober part of the Athenians; the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus, and his excessive attachment to the patricians, were equally detested by the Roman people. In this respect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended; though he that avails himself of popular arts, and shows too much indulgence, is less blamable than he who, to avoid the imputation of obsequiousness, treats the people with severity. It is, indeed, a disgrace to attain to power by flattering them; but on the other hand, to pursue it by acts of insolence and oppression is not only shameful, but unjust.

That Coriolanus had an openness and simplicity of manners is a point beyond dispute, whilst Alcibiades was crafty and dark in the proceedings of his ad-

ministration. The latter has been most blamed for the trick which he put upon the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, as Thucydides tells us, and by which he renewed the war. Yet this stroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much stronger and more respectable. But was not Coriolanus chargeable with a falsity too, when, as Dionysius informs us, he stirred up the Romans against the Volscians, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to see the public games? The cause, too, makes this action the more criminal: for it was not by ambition or a rival spirit in politics that he was influenced, as Alcibiades was; but he did it to gratify his anger, "*a passion which,*" as Dion says, "*is ever ungrateful to its votaries.*" By this means they disturbed all Italy, and in his quarrel with his country destroyed many cities which had never done him any injury. Alcibiades, indeed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians, but was easily reconciled to them, when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a second time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor see with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed: but observed the same conduct which Aristides is so highly extolled for with respect to Themistocles. He went in person to those generals, who, he knew, were not his friends, and showed them what steps it was proper for them to take. Whereas Coriolanus directed his revenge against the whole Commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the best and most respectable part both suffered and sympathised with him.

And afterwards, when the Romans endeavoured to make satisfaction for that single grievance by many embassies and much submission, he was not in the least pacified or won ; but showed himself determined to prosecute a cruel war, not in order to procure his return to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may, indeed, be granted, that there was this difference in the case : Alcibiades returned to the Athenians, when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended to despatch him privately. But it was not so honourable in Coriolanus to desert the Volscians, who had treated him with the utmost kindness, appointed him general with full authority, and reposed in him the highest confidence : very different in this respect from Alcibiades, who was abused, to their own purposes, rather than employed and trusted by the Lacedæmonians ; and who, after having been tossed about in their city and their camp, was at last obliged to put himself in the hands of Tissaphernes. But, perhaps, he made his court to the Persian in order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was desirous to return.

History informs us, that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he lavished again with equal discredit upon his vicious pleasures ; while Coriolanus refused to receive even what the generals he served under would have given him with honour. Hence the behaviour of the latter was the more detested by the people in the disputes about debts ; since it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt and by way of insult, as they thought, that he bore so hard upon them.

Antipater, in one of his epistles, where he speaks of the death of Aristotle the philosopher, tells us, “ That

great man, besides his other extraordinary talents, had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with." For want of this talent, the great actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to those who received the benefit of them, and who, notwithstanding, could not endure "that austerity, which, as Plato says, "is the companion of solitude." But as Alcibiades, on the other hand, knew how to treat those with whom he conversed with an engaging civility, it is no wonder if the glory of his exploits flourished in the favour and honourable regard of mankind, since his very faults had sometimes their grace and elegance. Hence it was, that though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, yet he was frequently appointed commander-in-chief; while Coriolanus, after many great achievements, with the best pretensions, sued for the consulship and lost it. The former deserved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not; the latter was not beloved, though at the same time he was admired.

We should, moreover, consider, that Coriolanus performed no considerable services, while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy against his country he did; but that Alcibiades, both as a soldier and general, did great things for the Athenians. When amongst his fellow-citizens Alcibiades was superior to all the attempts of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed against him in his absence; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though present to defend himself; and at length killed by the Volscians, against all rights, indeed, whether human or divine; nevertheless, he afforded them a colour for what they did, by granting

that peace to the entreaties of the women, which he had refused to the application of the ambassadors ; by that means leaving the enmity between the two nations, and the grounds of the war entire, and losing a very favourable opportunity for the Volscians. For surely he would not have drawn off the forces without the consent of those that committed them to his conduct, if he had sufficiently regarded his duty to them.

But if, without considering the Volscians in the least, he consulted his resentment only in stirring up the war, and put a period to it again when that was satisfied, he should not have spared his country on his mother's account, but have spared her with it ; for both his mother and wife made a part of his native city which he was besieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and entreaties of the ambassadors, and the petition of the priests, and then to consent to a retreat in favour of his mother, was not doing honour to his mother, but bringing disgrace upon his country ; since, as if it was not worthy to be saved for its own sake, it appeared to be saved only in compassion to a woman. For the favour was invidious, and so far from being engaging, that, in fact, it savoured of cruelty, and consequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired without being won by the supplications of those he was at war with, and without consent of those for whom he undertook it. The cause of all which was, the austerity of his manners, his arrogance and inflexibility of mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times ; but, when united with ambition, savage and intolerable. Persons of his temper, as if they had no need of honours, neglect to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, and yet are excessively chagrined when

those are denied them. It is true, neither Metellus nor Aristides, nor Epaminondas, were pliant to the people's humour, or could submit to flatter them ; but then they had a thorough contempt of every thing that the people could either give or take away ; and when they were banished, or on any other occasion, miscarried in the suffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nourished no anger against their ungrateful countrymen, but were satisfied with their repentance, and reconciled to them at their request. And, surely, he who is sparing in his assiduities to the people can but with an ill grace think of revenging any slight he may suffer ; for extreme resentment in case of disappointment in a pursuit of honour must be the effect of an extreme desire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part, readily acknowledged, that he was charmed with honours, and that he was very uneasy at being neglected ; and therefore he endeavoured to recommend himself to those he had to do with, by every engaging art. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to those who were capable of conferring honours upon him ; and at the same time his ambition filled him with regret and indignation when they passed him by. This, then, is the blamable part of his character ; all the rest is great and glorious. In point of temperance and disregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the most illustrious examples of integrity in Greece, and not with Alcibiades, who, in this respect, was the most profligate of men, and had the least regard for decency and honour.



## ANTIOCHUS AND STRATONICE.

Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though she had a son by his father. His condition was extremely unhappy. He made the greatest efforts to conquer his passion, but they were of no avail. At last, considering that his desires were of the most extravagant kind, that there was no prospect of satisfaction for them, and that the succours of reason entirely failed, he resolved in his despair to rid himself of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his person, and abstaining from food ; for this purpose he made sickness his pretence. His physician, Erasistratus, easily discovered that his distemper was love ; but it was difficult to conjecture who was the object. In order to find it out, he spent whole days in his chamber ; and whenever any beautiful person of either sex entered it, he observed with great attention, not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body which corresponds the most with the passions of the soul. When others entered he was entirely unaffected, but when Stratonice came in, as she often did, either alone or with Seleucus, he showed all the symptoms described by Sappho, the faltering voice, the burning blush, the languid eye, the sudden sweat, the tumultuous pulse ; and at length, the passion overcoming his spirits, a *deliquium* and mortal paleness.

Erasistratus concluded from these tokens that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the secret with him to the grave. He saw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus ; yet, depending upon the affection which the



king had for his son, he ventured one day to tell him, "That the young man's disorder was love ; but love for which there was no remedy." The king, quite astonished, said, "How ! love for which there is no remedy !" "It is certainly so," answered Erasistratus, "for he is in love with my wife." "What ! Erasistratus !" said the king, "would you, who are my friend, refuse to give up your wife to my son, when you see us in danger of losing our only hope ?" "Nay, would you do such a thing," answered the physician, "though you are his father, if he were in love with Stratonice ?" "O my friend," replied Seleucus, "how happy should I be, if either God or man could remove his affections thither ! I would give up my kingdom, so I could keep Antiochus." He pronounced these words with so much emotion, and such a profusion of tears, that Erasistratus took him by the hand, and said, "Then there is no need of Erasistratus. You, sir, who are a father, a husband, and a king, will be the best physician too for your family."

Upon this, Seleucus summoned the people to meet in full assembly, and told them it was his will and pleasure that Antiochus should intermarry with Stratonice, and that they should be declared king and queen of the Upper Provinces. "He believed," he said, "that Antiochus, who was such an obedient son, would not oppose his desire ; and if the princess should oppose the marriage, as an unprecedented thing, he hoped his friends would persuade her to think, that what was agreeable to the king, and advantageous to the kingdom, was both just and honourable." Such is said to have been the cause of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

## ARISTIDES AND CATO COMPARED.

Having thus given a detail of the most memorable actions of these great men, if we compare the whole life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to discern the difference between them, the eye being attracted by so many striking resemblances. But if we examine the several parts of their lives distinctly, as we do a poem or a picture, we shall find, in the first place, this common to them both, that they rose to high stations and great honour in their respective commonwealths, not by the help of family connexions, but merely by their own virtue and abilities. It is true, that when Aristides raised himself, Athens was not in her grandeur, and the demagogues and chief magistrates he had to deal with were men of moderate and nearly equal fortunes. For estates of the highest class were then only five hundred *medimni*; of those of the second order, who were knights, three hundred; and of those of the third order, who were called *Zeugitæ*, two hundred. But Cato, from a little village and a country life, launched into the Roman government, as into a boundless ocean, at a time when it was not conducted by the Curii, the Fabricii, and Hostilii, nor received for its magistrates and orators men of narrow circumstances who worked with their own hands, from the plough and the spade, but was accustomed to regard greatness of family, opulence, distributions among the people, and servility in courting their favour; for the Romans, elated with their power and importance, loved to humble those who stood for the great offices of state. And it was not the same thing to be rivalled by a Themis-

stocles, who was neither distinguished by birth nor fortune (for he is said not to have been worth more than three, or, at the most, five talents, when he first applied himself to public affairs), as to have to contest with a Scipio Africanus, a Servius Galba, or a Quintius Flaminius, without any other assistance or support but a tongue accustomed to speak with freedom in the cause of justice.

Besides, Aristides was only one among ten, that commanded at Marathon and Plataea; whereas Cato was chosen one of the two consuls, from a number of competitors, and one of the two censors, though opposed by seven candidates, who were some of the greatest and most illustrious men in Rome.

It should be observed, too, that Aristides was never principal in any action; for Miltiades had the chief honour of the victory at Marathon; Themistocles of that at Salamis: and the palm of the important day at Plataea, as Herodotus tells us, was adjudged to Pausanias. Nay, even the second place was disputed with Aristides by Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, who greatly distinguished themselves on that occasion.

On the other hand, Cato not only stood first in courage and conduct, during his own consulate, and in the war with Spain; but when he acted at Thermopylae only as a tribune, under the auspices of another, he gained the glory of the victory; for he it was that unlocked the pass for the Romans to rush upon Antiochus, and that brought the war upon the back of the king, who minded only what was before him. That victory, which was manifestly the work of Cato, drove Asia out of Greece, and opened the passage for Scipio to that continent afterwards.

Both of them were equally victorious in war, but Aristides miscarried in the administration, being banished and oppressed by the faction of Themistocles : whilst Cato, though he had for antagonists almost all the greatest and most powerful men in Rome, who kept contending with him even in his old age, like a skilful wrestler, always held his footing. Often impeached before the people, and often the manager of an impeachment, he generally succeeded in his prosecution of others, and was never condemned himself ; secure in that bulwark of life, the defensive and offensive armour of eloquence ; and to this, much more justly than to fortune, or his guardian genius, we may ascribe his maintaining his dignity unblemished to the last. For Antipater bestowed the same encomium upon Aristotle the philosopher, in what he wrote concerning him after his death, that, among his other qualities, he had the very extraordinary one of persuading people to whatever he pleased.

That the art of governing cities and commonwealths is the chief excellence of man admits not of a doubt ; and it is generally agreed, that the art of governing a family is no small ingredient in that excellence. For a city, which is only a collection of families, cannot be prosperous in the whole, unless the families that compose it be flourishing and prosperous. And Lycurgus, when he banished gold and silver out of Sparta, and gave the citizens, instead of it, money made of iron, that had been spoiled by the fire, did not design to excuse them from attending to economy, but only to prevent luxury, which is a tumour and inflammation caused by riches ; that every one might have the greater plenty of the necessaries and conveniences of life. By this establishment of his, it ap-

pears, that he saw farther than any other legislator ; since he was sensible that every society has more to apprehend from its needy members than from the rich. For this reason, Cato was no less attentive to the management of his domestic concerns than to that of public affairs : and he not only increased his own estate, but became a guide to others in economy and agriculture, concerning which he collected many useful rules.

But Aristides by his indigence brought a disgrace upon justice itself, as if it were the ruin and impoverishment of families, and a quality that is profitable to any one rather than the owner. Hesiod, however, has said a good deal to exhort us both to justice and economy, and inveighs against idleness as the source of injustice. The same is well represented by Homer\*—

The culture of the field, which fills the stores  
With happy harvests ; and domestic cares,  
Which rear the smiling progeny, no charms  
Could boast for me ; 'twas mine, to sail  
The gallant ship, to sound the trump of war,  
To point the polish'd spear, and hurl the quivering  
lance.

By which the poet intimates, that those who neglect their own affairs generally support themselves by violence and injustice. For what the physicians say of oil, that used outwardly it is beneficial, but pernicious when taken inwardly, is not applicable to the just man ; nor is it true, that he is useful to others, and unprofitable to himself and his family. The politics of Aristides seem, therefore, to have been de-

\* *Odyss.* L. iv.

fective in this respect, if it is true (as most writers assert), that he left not enough either for the portions of his daughters, or for the expenses of his funeral.

Thus Cato's family produced prætors and consuls to the fourth generation ; for his grandsons and their children bore the highest offices : whereas, though Aristides was one of the greatest men in Greece, yet the most distressing poverty prevailing among his descendants ; some of them were forced to get their bread by showing tricks by sleight of hand, or telling fortunes, and others to receive public alms, and not one of them entertained a sentiment worthy of their illustrious ancestor.

It is true, this point is liable to some dispute ; for poverty is not dishonourable in itself, but only when it is the effect of idleness, intemperance, prodigality, and folly. And when, on the contrary, it is associated with all the virtues, in the sober, the industrious, the just, and valiant statesman, it speaks a great and elevated mind. For an attention to little things renders it impossible to do any thing that is great ; nor can he provide for the wants of others, whose own are numerous and craving. The great and necessary provision for a statesman is, not riches, but a contented mind, which requiring no superfluities for itself, leaves a man at full liberty to serve the commonwealth. God is absolutely exempt from wants ; and the virtuous man, in proportion as he reduces his wants, approaches nearer to the Divine perfection. For as a body well built for health needs nothing exquisite, either in food or clothing, so a rational way of living, and a well governed family, demand a very moderate support. Our possessions, indeed, should be proportioned to the use we make of them : he that



amasses a great deal, and uses but little, is far from being satisfied and happy in his abundance ; for if, while he is solicitous to increase it, he has no desire of those things which wealth can procure, he is foolish ; if he does desire them, and yet out of meanness of spirit will not allow himself in their enjoyment, he is miserable.

I would fain ask Cato himself this question, “ If riches are to be enjoyed, why, when possessed of a great deal, did he plume himself upon being satisfied with a little ? ” If it be a commendable thing, as indeed it is, to be contented with coarse bread, and such wine as our servants and labouring people drink, and not to covet purple and elegantly plastered houses, then Aristides, Epaminondas, Manius Curius, and Caius Fabricius were perfectly right, in neglecting to acquire what they did not think proper to use. For it was by no means necessary for a man who, like Cato, could make a delicious meal on turnips, and loved to boil them himself, while his wife baked the bread, to talk so much about a farthing, and to write by what means a man might soonest grow rich. Indeed, simplicity and frugality are then only great things, when they free the mind from the desire of superfluities and the anxieties of care. Hence it was that Aristides, in the trial of Callias, said, “ It was fit for none to be ashamed of poverty, but those that were poor against their wills ; and that they who, like him, were poor out of choice, might glory in it. ” For it is ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was to be imputed to sloth, since he might, without being guilty of the least baseness, have raised himself to opulence, by the spoil of one barbarian, or the plunder of one tent. But enough of this.



As to military achievements, those of Cato added but little to the Roman empire, which was already very great ; whereas the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, the most glorious and important actions of the Greeks are numbered among those of Aristides. And surely Antiochus is not worthy to be mentioned with Xerxes, nor the demolishing of the walls of the Spanish towns with the destruction of so many thousands of barbarians both by sea and land. On these great occasions Aristides was inferior to none in real service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did the wealth, to others who had more need of them, because he was above them.

I do not blame Cato for perpetually boasting and giving himself the preference to others, though in one of his pieces he says, " It is absurd for a man either to commend or depreciate himself : " but I think the man who is often praising himself not so complete in virtue as the modest man who does not even want others to praise him. For modesty is a very proper ingredient in the mild and engaging manner necessary for a statesman ; on the other hand, he who demands any extraordinary respect is difficult to please, and liable to envy. Cato was very subject to this fault, and Aristides entirely free from it. For Aristides, by co-operating with his enemy Themistocles in his greatest actions, and being as it were a guard to him while he had the command, restored the affairs of Athens : whereas Cato, by counteracting Scipio, had well nigh blasted and ruined that expedition of his against Carthage, which brought down Hannibal, who till then was invincible. And he continued to raise suspicions against him, and to persecute him with calumnies, till at last he drove him out of Rome, and

got his brother stigmatized with the shameful crime of embezzling the public money.

As for temperance, which Cato always extolled as the greatest of virtues, Aristides preserved it in its utmost purity and perfection ; while Cato, by marrying so much beneath himself, and at an unseasonable time of life, stood justly impeached in that respect. For it was by no means decent, at his great age, to bring home to his son and daughter-in-law a young wife, the daughter of his secretary, a man who received wages of the public. Whether he did it merely to gratify his appetite, or to revenge the affront which his son put upon his favourite slave, both the cause and the thing were dishonourable. And the reason which he gave to his son was ironical and groundless. For if he was desirous of having more children like him, he should have looked out before for some woman of family, and not have put off the thoughts of marrying again, till his commerce with so mean a creature was discovered ; and when it was discovered, he ought to have chosen for his father-in-law, not the man who would most readily accept his proposals, but one whose alliance would have done him the most honour.

#### ATHENS DESERTED.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity ! what admiration of the firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis ! What greatly heightened the distress was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, be-

cause of their extreme old age. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore, with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leapt into the sea, and to have swam by the side of the ship, till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately. And they show us to this day a place called *Synos Sema*, where they tell us that dog was buried.

## BIRTH-PLACES.

Whoever it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games; whether Euripides (which is the common opinion), or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city." But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part I think it would make no difference, though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty: for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julius, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina, which an Athenian "wanted to have taken away, as an eyesore to the Piræus," should give birth to good poets and players\*, and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain

\* The poet Simonides was of Ceos; and Polus the actor was of Ægina.

the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place where it can find an ingenuous nature and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to an author who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books ; and the particulars that are wanting in writers he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange ; and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that, to attain such a skill in the language

as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment. But the practice and pains it requires are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

## HONOUR OF CAMILLUS.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they were surrounded, made so little account of the siege, that the inhabitants, except those who guarded the walls, walked the streets in their common habits. The boys too went to school, and the master took them out to walk and exercise about the walls. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, chose to have their children bred at one public school, that they might betimes be accustomed to the same discipline, and form themselves to friendship and society.

This schoolmaster, then, designing to betray the Falerians, by means of their children, took them every day out of the city to exercise, keeping pretty close to the walls at first, and when their exercise was over led them in again. By degrees he took them out farther, accustoming them to divert themselves freely, as if they had nothing to fear. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up to be carried to Camillus. When he came into his presence, he said, "He was the schoolmaster of Falerii, but preferring his favour to the obligations of duty, he came to deliver up those children to him, and in them the whole city." This action appeared very shocking to Camillus, and he said to those that were by, "War



(at best) is a savage thing, and wades through a sea of violence and injustice ; yet even war itself has its laws, which men of honor will not depart from ; nor do they so pursue victory, as to avail themselves of acts of villainy and baseness. For a great general should only rely on his own virtue, and not upon the treachery of others." Then he ordered the *lictors* to tear off the wretch's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and furnish the boys with rods and scourges to punish the traitor, and whip him into the city. By this time the Falerians had discovered the school-master's treason ; the city, as might be expected, was full of lamentations for so great a loss, and the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowded about the walls and the gate like persons distracted. In the midst of this disorder they espied the boys whipping on their master, naked and bound, and calling Camillus their god, their deliverer, their father. Not only the parents of those children, but all the citizens in general were struck with admiration at the spectacle, and conceived such an affection for the justice of Camillus, that they immediately assembled in council, and sent deputies to surrender to him both themselves and their city.

#### THE SAYINGS OF CATO THE CENSOR.

One day when the Romans clamored violently and unseasonably for a distribution of corn, to dissuade them from it he thus began his address : " It is a difficult task, my fellow-citizens, to speak to the belly, because it hath no ears." Another time complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, " It is a hard matter to save that city from ruin where a fish was sold for more than an ox." On another oc-

casion, he said, "The Roman people were like sheep, for as those can scarce be brought to stir singly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, just such are ye. The men whose counsel you would not take as individuals, lead you with ease in a crowd." Speaking of the power of women, he said, "All men naturally govern the women; we govern all men, and our wives govern us." But this might be taken from the Apophthegms of Themistocles. For, his son, directing in most things through his mother, he said, "The Athenians govern the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, you, wife, govern me, and your son governs you: let him then use that power with moderation, which, child as he is, sets him above all the Greeks." Another of Cato's sayings was, "That the Roman people fixed the value, not only of the several kinds of colours, but of the arts and sciences." For, added he, "as the dyers dye that sort of purple which is most agréable to you, so our youth only study and strive to excel in such things as you esteem and commend." Exhorting the people to virtue, he said, "If it is by virtue and temperance that you are become great, change not for the worse; but if by intemperance and vice, change for the better; for you are already great enough by such means as these." Of such as were perpetually soliciting for great offices, he said, "Like men who knew not their way, they wanted lictors always to conduct them." He found fault with the people for often choosing the same persons consuls; "You either," said he, "think the consulate of little worth, or that there are but few worthy of the consulate." Concerning one of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, "His mother takes it for a



curse and not a prayer, when any one wishes this son may survive her." Pointing to a man who had sold a paternal estate near the sea-side; he pretended to admire him, as one that was stronger than the sea itself; "For," said he, "what the sea could not have swallowed without difficulty, this man has taken down with all the ease imaginable." When king Eumenes came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the great men strove which should do him the most honour, but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody said, "Why do you shun Eumenes, who is so good a man, and so great a friend to the Romans?" "That may be," answered Cato, "but I look upon a king as a creature that feeds upon human flesh; and of all the kings that have been so much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Themistocles, a Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar surnamed Barcas." He used to say, that his enemies hated him, because he neglected his own concerns, and rose before day to mind those of the public. But that he had rather his good actions should go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpunished; and that he pardoned every body's faults sooner than his own. The Romans having sent three ambassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another had his skull trepanned, and the third was reckoned little better than a fool, Cato smiled and said, "They had sent an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart." When Scipio applied to him, at the request of Polybius, in behalf of the Achæan exiles, and the matter was much canvassed in the senate, some speaking for their being restored, and some against it, Cato rose up, and said, "As if we had nothing else

to do, we sit here all day debating whether a few poor old Greeks should be buried by our grave-diggers or those of their own country." The senate then decreed, that the exiles should return home ; and Polybius, some days after, endeavoured to procure another meeting of that respectable body to restore those exiles to their former honours in Achaia. Upon this affair he sounded Cato, who answered, smiling, " This was just as if Ulysses should have wanted to enter the Cyclops' cave again for a hat and a belt which he had left behind." It was a saying of his, " That wise men learn more from fools, than fools from the wise ; for the wise avoid the errors of fools, while fools do not profit by the examples of the wise." Another of his sayings was, " That he liked a young man that blushed, more than one that turned pale : and that he did not like a soldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and who snored louder in bed than he shouted in battle." Jestng upon a very fat man, he said, " Of what service to his country can such a body be, which is nothing but belly ?" When an epicure desired to be admitted into his friendship, he said, " He could not live with a man whose palate had quicker sensations than his heart." He used to say, " The soul of a lover lived in the body of another : " and that in all his life he never repented but of three things : the first was, that he had trusted a woman with a secret ; the second, that he had gone by sea, when he might have gone by land ; and the third, that he had passed one day without having a will by him. To an old debauchee, he said, " Old age has deformities enough of its own : do not add to it the deformity of vice." A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposed

a bad law, and taking great pains to have it passed, Cato said to him, " Young man, I know not which is most dangerous, to drink what you mix, or to enact what you propose." Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, " It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you : for you are accustomed to be spoken ill of, and can speak it with pleasure ; but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it." Such was the manner of his repartees and short sayings.

#### CATO THE YOUNGER AND PHOCION.

The effects of austerity were seen in the younger Cato. There was nothing engaging or popular in his behaviour ; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was not great. Cicero says, " He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and by that means fell short of the consulate." His case appears to me to have been the same with that of fruit which comes out of season ; people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old fashioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the splendour of reputation which such a phenomenon could claim, but it did not answer the exigencies of the state ; it was disproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for use. Indeed, his circumstances were not altogether like those of Phocion, who came not into the administration till the state was sinking ; whereas Cato had only to save the ship beating about in the storm. At the same time we must allow that he had not the principal direction of her ; he sat not at the

helm ; he could do no more than help to hand the sails and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of hands, but with great difficulty, by slow steps and gradual advances. So near was Rome being saved by Cato and Cato's virtue ! With it we would compare that of Phocion : not in a general manner, so as to say they were both persons of integrity and able statesmen ; for there is a difference between valour and valour, for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas ; the prudence of Themistocles and that of Aristides were not the same ; justice was of one kind in Numa, and in Agesilaus of another : but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the same in the most minute particular ; their impression, form, and colour, are perfectly similar. Thus their severity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution ; they had the same solicitude for others, and disregard for themselves : the same abhorrence of every thing base and dishonourable, and the same firm attachment to justice on all occasions : so that it requires a very delicate expression, like the finely discriminated sounds of the organ, to mark the difference of their characters.

#### THE DEATH OF CATO THE YOUNGER.

After bathing, he went to supper, with a large company, at which he sat, as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia ; for, (as we observed above) he never now lay down except to sleep. All his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine was seasoned with much wit and learning ; and many questions in phi-

losophy were proposed and discussed. In the course of the conversation, they came to the paradoxes of the stoics (for so their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, "That the good man only is free, and all bad men are slaves." The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his principles, took up the argument against it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than usual, carried on a most spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived he had determined to put an end to his being, to extricate himself from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his discourse, he endeavoured to recover the spirits of his guests, and to remove their suspicions, by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partisans who were upon their voyage ; and for those who had to make their way through dry deserts, and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his usual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards such orders as the occasion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his son and his friends at this parting recalled all their suspicions. He lay down and began to read Plato's book on the immortality of the soul : but before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it used to hang ; for his son had taken it away while he was at supper. He, therefore, called his servant and asked him, who had taken away his sword ? As the

servant made no answer, he returned to his book ; and, after a while, without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book : but then he called his servants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth that he hurt his own hand ; and growing more angry, and raising his voice still higher, he cried, “ I am betrayed and delivered naked to my enemy by my son and my servants.” His son then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourse to tears and entreaties. But Cato rose up, and, with a stern and awful look, thus expressed himself :— “ When and where did I show any signs of distraction, that nobody offers to dissuade me from any purpose that I may seem to be wrong in, but I must be hindered from pursuing my resolutions, thus disarmed ? And you, young man, why do you not bind your father ? bind his hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes, he may find him utterly incapable of resistance ? As to a sword, I have no need of it to despatch myself ; for if I do but hold my breath awhile, or dash my head against the wall, it will answer the same purpose as well.”

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the rest except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers he addressed himself in a milder tone.—“ Are you also determined to make a man of my age live whether he will or no ? And do you sit here in silence to watch me ? Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, now Cato has no hopes from



any other quarters, it is no dishonour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you begin a lecture to inform me better, that, dismissing the opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, through Cæsar's means, grow wiser, and so have a still greater obligation to him? As yet I have determined nothing with respect to myself; but I ought to have it in my power to put my purpose in execution, when I have formed it. And indeed I shall, in some measure, consult with you, for I shall proceed with my deliberations upon the principles of your philosophy. Be satisfied then, and go tell my son, if persuasion will not do, not to have recourse to constraint."

They made no answer, but went out: the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The sword was sent in by a little boy. He drew, and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, "Now," said he, "I am master of myself." Then laying down the sword, he took up the book again, and, it is said, he perused the whole twice. After which, he slept so sound that he was heard by those who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, whom he generally employed about public business. The latter he sent for to the port, to see whether all the Romans had put off to sea, and bring him word.

In the meantime he ordered the physician to dress his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his servant. This was some consolation to the whole house, for now they thought he had dropped his design against his life. Soon after this Butas returned, and informed him that they were all got off

except Crassus, who had been detained by some business, but that he intended to embark very soon, though the wind blew hard, and the sea was tempestuous. Cato, at this news, sighed in pity of his friends at sea, and sent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back, and should be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to sing, and Cato fell again into a little slumber. Butas, at his return, told him, that all was quiet in the harbour ; upon which Cato ordered him to shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, as if he designed to sleep out the rest of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under the breast. However, he could not strike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not presently expire, but in the struggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that stood by.

The noise alarming the servants, they cried out, and his son and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out ; at the same time he was alive and looked upon them. They were struck with inexpressible horror. The physician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up and began to sew up the wound. But as soon as Cato came a little to himself, he thrust away the physician, tore open the wound, plucked out his own bowels, and immediately expired.

In less time than one would think all the family could be informed of this sad event, the three hun-

dred were at the door ; and a little after, all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice calling him “ their benefactor, their saviour, the only free and unconquered man. This they did, though, at the same time, they had intelligence that Cæsar was approaching. Neither fear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious disputes that prevailed among themselves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a splendid procession, buried it near the sea ; where now stands his statue, with a sword in the right hand.

#### REPARTEES AND WITTICISMS OF CICERO.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause ; and his client was acquitted in consequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero’s friends ; upon which he was so much transported with anger as to say, “ Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court ?” He had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the *rostrum* : and a few days after as publicly reproached him. “ What !” said Crassus, “ did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand ?” “ True :” answered Cicero, “ but I did it by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject.” Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above threescore years : but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, “ What

could I have been thinking of when I asserted such a thing !” “ You knew,” said Cicero, “ that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome.” Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the stoics, “ The good man is always rich\*.” “ Imagine,” said Cicero, “ there is another more agreeable to you, *All things belong to the prudent.*” For Crassus was notoriously covetous. Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the senate with great applause ; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, *axios Crassou*†. When Crassus was going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy ; and therefore addressed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends and desired a reconciliation. “ What !” said Cicero, “ does Vatinius too want to sup with me ?” Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrofulous tumours in his neck ; and one day

\* *παντα ειναι του σοφου*. The Greek *σοφος* signifies cunning, shrewd, prudent, as well as wise ; and in any of the former acceptations the stoic maxim was applicable to Crassus. Thus *frugi* in Latin, is used indifferently either for saving prudence, or for sober wisdom.

† An ill-mannered pun, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of Accius.

when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie!" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said, "That shall never be while I live." "Let us wait a while, then," said Cicero; "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius, who had it objected to him that he was an African. One day when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. "That is somewhat strange," said Cicero; "for you are not without a hole in your ear\*." When Metellus Nepos told him, "That he had ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate:" "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero answered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cause of some importance; and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said, "Sestius, make the

\* A mark of slavery amongst some nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

best use of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be out of office\*.” Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity; being called in as a witness in a certain cause, declared, “He knew nothing of the matter.” “Perhaps,” said Cicero, “you think I am asking you some question in law.” Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, “Who is your father?” he replied, “Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question.” For his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument†. “This,” said Cicero, “was one of the wisest things you ever did: for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak‡.” Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every source of

\* Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; and therefore Cicero meant that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself.

† It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the profession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

‡ Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.



care, eloquence, and fidelity, in his cause, Cicero said, "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you !"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents ; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances : he used to call Marcus Aquilius *Adrastus*, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile\*. Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero, in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid the censor will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Volumnius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out :

On this conception Phœbus never smiled†.

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happened to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice : "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have been public criers in his family." Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it.

\* Because *Adrastus* had married his daughters to *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, who were exiled.

† A verse of *Sophocles*, speaking of *Laius* the father of *Œdipus*.

Upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

## CIMON AND LUCULLUS COMPARED.

We cannot but think the exit of Lucullus happy, as he did not live to see that change in the constitution which fate was preparing for his country in the civil wars. Though the commonwealth was in a sickly state, yet he left it free. In this respect the case of Cimon was particularly similar. For he died while Greece was at the height of her prosperity, and before she was involved in those troubles which proved so fatal to her. It is true there is this difference, Cimon died in his camp, in the office of general ; not like a man, who, fatigued with war, and avoiding its conflicts, sought the reward of his military labours and of the laurels he had won, in the delicacies of the table and the joys of wine. In this view Plato was right in the censure of the followers of Orpheus, who had placed the rewards of futurity, provided for the good, in everlasting intoxication. No doubt, ease, tranquillity, literary researches, and the pleasures of contemplation, furnish the most suitable retreat for a man in years, who has bid adieu to military and political pursuits. But to propose pleasure as the end of great achievements, and, after long expeditions and commands, to lead up the dance of Venus, and riot in her smiles, was so far from being worthy of the famed Academy, and a follower of the sage Xenocrates, that it rather became a disciple of Epicurus. This is the more surprising, because Cimon seems to have spent his youth in luxury and dissipation, and Lucullus in letters and sobriety. It is certainly another thing, notwithstanding, to change for

the better, and happier is the nature in which vices gradually die, and virtue flourishes.

They were equally wealthy, but did not apply their riches to the same purposes. For we cannot compare the palace at Naples and the Belvideres amidst the water, which Lucullus erected with the barbarian spoils, to the south wall of the citadel which Cimon built with the treasure he brought from the wars. Nor can the sumptuous table of Lucullus, which savoured too much of eastern magnificence, be put in competition with the open and benevolent table of Cimon. The one, at a moderate charge, daily nourished great numbers of poor ; the other, at a vast expense, pleased the appetites of a few of the rich and the voluptuous. Perhaps, indeed, some allowance must be made for the difference of the time. We know not whether Cimon, if he had lived to be old, and retired from the concerns of war and of the state, might not have given into a more pompous and luxurious way of living : for he naturally loved wine and company, was a promoter of public feasts and games, and remarkable, as we have observed, for his inclination for the sex. But glorious enterprises and great actions, being attended with pleasures of another kind, leave no leisure for inferior gratifications ; nay, they banish them from the thoughts of persons of great abilities for the field and the cabinet. And if Lucullus had finished his days in high commands and amidst the conflicts of war, I am persuaded the most envious caviller could have found nothing to reproach him with. So much with respect to their way of living.

As to their military character, it is certain they were able commanders both at sea and land. But as

the champions, who in one day gained the garland not only in wrestling but in the *Pancration*\*, are not simply called victors, but by the custom of the games, *the flowers of the victory*; so Cimon, having crowned Greece with two victories gained in one day, the one at land, the other a naval one, deserves some preference in the list of generals.

Lucullus was indebted to his country for his power, and Cimon promoted the power of his country. The one found Rome commanding her allies, and under her auspices extended the conquests; the other found Athens obeying instead of commanding, and yet gained her the chief authority among her allies, as well as conquered her enemies. The Persians he defeated, and drove them out of the sea, and he persuaded the Lacedæmonians voluntarily to surrender the command.

If it be the greatest work of a general to bring his men to obey him from a principle of affection, we shall find Lucullus greatly deficient in this respect. He was despised by his own troops, whereas Cimon commanded the veneration, not only of his own soldiers, but of all the allies. The former was deserted by his own, and the latter was courted by strangers. The one set out with a fine army, and returned alone, abandoned by that army; the other went out with troops subject to the orders they should receive from another general, and at his return they were at the head of the whole league. Thus he gained three of the most difficult points imaginable—peace with the

\* The Pancration consisted of boxing and wrestling together.

enemy, the lead among the allies, and a good understanding with Sparta.

They both attempted to conquer great kingdoms, and to subdue all Asia ; but their purposes were unsuccessful. Cimon's course was stopped by fortune ; he died with his commission in his hand, and in the height of his prosperity. Lucullus, on the other hand, cannot possibly be excused, as to the loss of his authority, since he must either have been ignorant of the grievances of his army, which ended in so incurable an aversion, or unwilling to redress them.

This he has in common with Cimon, that he was impeached by his countrymen. The Athenians, it is true, went farther ; they banished Cimon by the ostracism, that they might not, as Plato expresses it, hear his voice for ten years. Indeed, the proceedings of the aristocratical party are seldom acceptable to the people ; for while they are obliged to use some violence for the correction of what is amiss, their measures resemble the bandages of surgeons, which are uneasy at the same time that they reduce the dislocation. But in this respect perhaps we may exculpate both the one and the other.

Lucullus carried his arms much the farthest. He was the first who led a Roman army over Mount Taurus, and passed the Tigris. He took and burned the royal cities of Asia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, Nisibis, in the sight of their respective kings. On the north he penetrated as far as the Phasis, on the east to Media, and on the south to the Red Sea, by the favour and assistance of the princes of Arabia. He overthrew the armies of the two great kings, and would certainly have taken them, had they not fled,

like savages, into distant solitudes and inaccessible woods. A certain proof of the advantage Lucullus had in this respect is, that the Persians, as if they had suffered nothing from Cimon, soon made head against the Greeks, and cut in pieces a great army of theirs in Egypt; whereas Tigranes and Mithridates could effect nothing after the blow they had received from Lucullus. Mithridates, enfeebled by the conflicts he had undergone, did not once venture to face Pompey in the field: instead of that, he fled to the Bosphorus, and there put a period to his life. As for Tigranes, he delivered himself, naked and unarmed, to Pompey, took his diadem from his head, and laid it at his feet; in which he complimented Pompey, not with what was his own, but with what belonged to the laurels of Lucullus. The poor prince, by the joy with which he received the ensigns of royalty again, confessed that he had absolutely lost them. However, he must be deemed the greater general, as well as the greater champion, who delivers his adversary, weak and breathless, to the next combatant.

Besides, Cimon found the king of Persia extremely weakened, and the pride of his people humbled, by the losses and defeats they had experienced from Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychidas; and their hands could not make much resistance, when their hearts were gone. But Lucullus met Tigranes fresh and unfoiled, elated and exulting in the battles he had fought and the victories he had won. Nor is the number of the enemy's troops which Cimon defeated in the least to be compared to that of those who gave battle to Lucullus.

In short, when we weigh all the advantages of each of these great men, it is hard to say to which side the



balance inclines. Heaven appears to have favoured both ; directing the one to what he should do, and warning the other what he should avoid. So that the gods bore witness of their virtue, and regarded them as persons in whom there was something divine.

#### CINEAS AND PYRRHUS.

Cineas now seeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he saw him at leisure, to draw him into the following conversation : “ The Romans have the reputation of being excellent soldiers, and have the command of many warlike nations ; if it please Heaven that we conquer them, what use, sir, shall we make of our victory ? ” “ Cineas,” replied the king, “ your question answers itself. When the Romans are once subdued, there is no town, whether Greek or barbarian, in all the country, that will dare oppose us ; but we shall immediately be masters of all Italy, whose greatness, power, and importance no man knows better than you.” Cineas, after a short pause, continued, “ But after we have conquered Italy, what shall we do next, sir ? ” Pyrrhus not yet perceiving his drift, replied, “ There is Sicily very near, and stretches out her arms to receive us, a fruitful and populous island, and easy to be taken. For Agathocles was no sooner gone than faction and anarchy prevailed among her cities, and every thing is kept in confusion by her turbulent demagogues.” “ What you say, my prince,” said Cineas, “ is very probable ; but is the taking of Sicily to conclude our expeditions ? ” “ Far from it,” answered Pyrrhus ; “ for if Heaven grant us success in this, that success shall only be the prelude to greater things. Who can forbear Libya and Carthage, then

within reach? which Agathocles, even when he fled in a clandestine manner from Syracuse, and crossed the sea with a few ships only, had almost made himself master of. And when we have made such conquest, who can pretend to say that any of our enemies, who are now so insolent, will think of resisting us?" "To be sure," said Cineas, "they will not; for it is clear that so much power will enable you to recover Macedonia, and to establish yourself uncontested sovereign of Greece. But when we have conquered all, what are we to do then?" "Why then, my friend," said Pyrrhus laughing, "we will take our ease, and drink and be merry." Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied, "And what hinders us from drinking and taking our ease now, when we have already those things in our hands, at which we propose to arrive through seas of blood, through infinite toils and dangers, through innumerable calamities which we must both cause and suffer?"

#### THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA.

There was in Cæsar's train a young nobleman, whose name was Cornelius Dolabella. He was smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her every thing that passed, he sent her private notice that Cæsar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, she would be sent away with her children. When she was informed of this, she requested of Cæsar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted, she was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, she thus addressed the manes of the dead:—"It is not long, my Antony, since with these hands I buried thee. Alas!

they then were free ; but thy Cleopatra is now a prisoner, attended by a guard, lest in the transports of her grief she should disfigure this captive body, which is reserved to adorn the triumph over thee. These are the last offerings, the last honours she can pay thee : for she is now to be conveyed to a distant country. Nothing could part us while we lived ; but in death we are to be divided. Thou, though a Roman, liest buried in Egypt ; and I, an Egyptian, must be interred in Italy, the only favour I shall receive from thy country. Yet if the gods of Rome have power or mercy left (for surely those of Egypt have forsaken us), let them not suffer me to be led in living triumph to thy disgrace ! No !—hide me, hide me with thee in the grave ; for life, since thou hast left it, has been misery to me.”

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes ; and after she had crowned the tomb with flowers, and kissed it, she ordered her bath to be prepared. When she had bathed, she sat down to a magnificent supper ; soon after which, a peasant came to the gate with a small basket. The guards inquired what it contained ; and the man who brought it, putting by the leaves which lay uppermost, showed them a parcel of figs. As they admired their size and beauty, he smiled and bade them take some ; but they refused, and not suspecting that the basket contained any thing else, it was carried in. After supper, Cleopatra sent a letter to Cæsar, and ordering every body out of the monument, except her two women, she made fast the door. When Cæsar opened the letter, the plaintive style in which it was written, and the strong request that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, made him suspect her design. At first he was

for hastening to her himself, but he changed his mind and despatched others. Her death, however, was so sudden, that though they who were sent ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehensions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead, lying on her golden bed, and dressed in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dead at her feet, and Charmion, hardly able to support herself, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. One of Cæsar's messengers said angrily, "Charmion, was this well done?" "Perfectly well," said she, "and worthy a descendant of the kings of Egypt." She had no sooner said this, than she fell down dead.

It is related by some that an asp was brought in amongst the figs, and hid under the leaves; and that Cleopatra had ordered it so that she might be bit without seeing it; that, however, upon removing the leaves, she perceived it, and said, "This is what I wanted." Upon which she immediately held out her arm to it. Others say that the asp was kept in a water vessel, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle till it seized her arm. Nothing of this, however, could be ascertained: for it was reported likewise that she carried about with her a certain poison in a hollow bodkin that she wore in her hair; yet there was neither any mark of poison on her body, nor was there any serpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was said to have been discovered on the sea sands opposite to the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. Others, again, have affirmed, that she had two small punctures on her arm, apparently occasioned by the sting of the asp; and it is clear that Cæsar gave credit to this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an asp on the arm.

## CONSCIENCE.

It is reported that the cantharides fly, by a certain kind of antipathy, carries within itself the cure of the wounds it inflicts. On the other hand, wickedness, at the same time that it is committed, engendering its own vexation and torment, not at last, but at the very instant of the injury offered, suffers the reward of the injustice it has done. And as every malefactor bears his own cross to the place of his execution, so are all the various torments of various wicked actions prepared by the several sorts of wickedness themselves. Such a diligent architectress of a miserable and wretched life is wickedness, wherein shame is still accompanied with a thousand terrors and commotions of the mind, incessant repentance, and never-ceasing tumult of the spirits. There are, however, some people that differ little or nothing from children, who many times beholding malefactors on the stage, in their gilded vestments and short purple cloaks, dancing with crowns upon their heads, admire and look upon them as the most happy persons in the world, till they see them goaded and lashed, and flames of fire curling from under their sumptuous and gaudy garments. Thus there are many wicked men, surrounded with numerous families, splendid in the pomp of magistracy, and illustrious for the greatness of their power, whose punishments never display themselves till these glorious persons come to be the public spectacles of the people, either slain and lying weltering in their blood, or else standing on the top of the rock, ready to be tumbled headlong down the precipice, which indeed cannot so well be said to be a punishment, as the consummation and perfection

of punishment. Moreover, as Herodicus the Selimbrian, falling into a consumption, the most incurable of all diseases, was the first who intermixed the gymnastic art with the science of physic (as Plato relates) on purpose to spin out in length a tedious time of dying, as well for his own sake, as for that of others labouring under the same distemper ; in like manner there are some wicked men, who flatter themselves to have escaped the present punishment, yet not after such a space, but for a longer tract of time, endure a more lasting, not a shorter punishment ; not punished with old age, but growing old under the tribulation of tormenting affliction. When I speak of a long time, I speak in reference to ourselves. For as to the gods, every distance and distinction of human life is nothing. And now, and not thirty years ago, is the same thing, as that such a malefactor was tormented or hanged in the morning, and not in the afternoon. More especially since a man is but shut up in this life, like a close prisoner in a gaol from whence it is impossible to make an escape ; and yet we feast and banquet, are full of business, receive rewards, and enjoy offices. Though, certainly, these are but like the sports of those who play at dice, or any other games in the gaol, while the rope all the while hangs over their heads. So that what should hinder me from asserting, that neither they who are shut up in prison are truly punished till the executioner has chopped off their heads ? or that he who has drunk hemlock, then walks about and stays till a heaviness seizes his limbs, is in any other condition before the extinction of his natural heat, and the coagulation of his blood, deprive him of his senses ? That is to say, if we deem the last moment of the



punishment to be the only punishment, and omit the commotions, terrors, expectations, and embitterments of repentance, with which every malefactor and all wicked men are teased upon the committing of any heinous crime. But this is to deny the fish to be taken that falls into the net, before we see it cut into pieces and boiled by the cook ; for every offender is within the gripes of the law so soon as he has committed the crime ; and no sooner has he swallowed the sweet bait of injustice but he may truly be said to be caught ; while his conscience within, tearing and gnawing upon his vitals, allows him no rest :

Like the swift tunny, frightened from his prey,  
Rolling and plunging in the angered sea !

For the daring rashness and precipitate boldness of iniquity continues violent and active till the fact be perpetrated ; but then the passion, like a surceasing tempest, growing slack and weak, surrenders itself to superstitious fears and terrors. So that Stesichorus may seem to have composed the dream of Clytemnestra, to set forth the events and truths of things :

——Then seemed a dragon to draw near,  
With mattery blood all on his head besmeared,  
And then the king Plisthenides appeared.

For visions in dreams, noon-day apparitions, oracles, descents into hell, and whatever objects else which may be thought to be transmitted from heaven, raise continual tempests and horrors in the very souls of the guilty.

RUNNING IN DEBT, AND BORROWING OF  
USURERS.

Plato in his laws permits not any one to go and draw water from his neighbour's well, who has not first digged and sunk a pit in his own ground till he is come to a vein of clay, and has by his sounding experimented that the place will not yield a spring, because the clay or potter's earth being of its own nature fatty, solid and strong, retains the moisture it receives, and will not let it soak or pierce through : but it must be lawful for them to take water from another's ground when there is no way or means for them to find any in their own ; for the laws ought to provide for men's necessity, but not favour their laziness. The like ordinance there ought to be concerning money ;—that none should be allowed to borrow upon usury, nor to go and dive into other men's purses, as it were into their wells and fountains, before they have first searched at home, and sounded every means for the obtaining it, having collected, as it were, and gathered together all the gutters and springs, to try if they can draw from them what may suffice to supply their most necessary occasions. But, on the contrary, many there are, who, to defray their idle expenses, and to satisfy their extravagant and superfluous delights, make not use of their own, but have recourse to others, running themselves deeply into debt without any necessity. Now this may easily be judged, if one does but consider that usurers do not ordinarily lend to those which are in distress, but only to such as desire to obtain, and get somewhat that is superfluous, and of which they stand not in need : so

that the credit given by the lender is a testimony sufficiently proving that the borrower has of his own ; whereas, on the contrary, since he has of his own, he ought to keep himself from borrowing.

Why shouldst thou go and make thy court to a banker or a merchant? Borrow from thine own table. Thou hast tankards, dishes, and basins of silver. Make use of them for thy necessity, and when they are gone to supply thy wants, the pleasant town of Aulis, or isle of Tenedos, will again refurnish thy board with fair vessels of earth, far more cleanly and neat than those of silver : for they are not scented with the strong and unpleasant smell of usury, which, like rust, daily more and more tarnishes the lustre of thy sumptuous magnificence ; they will not every day be putting thee in mind of the calends and new moons, which, being of themselves the most holy and sacred days of the months, are by reason of usuries rendered the most odious and accursed. For as to those who choose rather to carry their goods to the brokers, and there lay them in pawn for money taken upon usury, than to sell them outright, I do not believe that Jupiter Ctesius himself can preserve them from beggary. They are ashamed, forsooth, to receive the full price and value of their goods, but they are not ashamed to pay use for the money which they have borrowed on them. And yet the great and wise Pericles caused that costly robe of fine gold, weighing about forty talents, with which Minerva's statue was adorned, to be made in such a manner that he could take it on and off at his pleasure : “ to the end (said he) that when we shall stand in need of money to support the charges of an expensive war, we may take it, and make use of it on so weighty an occasion, putting

again afterwards in its place another of no less price and value than the former." Thus ought we in our affairs, as in a besieged town, never to admit or receive the hostile garrison of an usurer, nor to endure before our eyes the delivering up of our goods into perpetual servitude, but rather to cut off from our table what is neither necessary nor profitable, and in like manner from our beds, our couches, and our ordinary expenses, so to keep ourselves free and at liberty, in hopes to restore again what we shall have retrenched if fortune shall hereafter smile upon us. The Roman ladies heretofore willingly parted with their jewels and ornaments of gold for the making a cup to be sent as an offering to the temple of Apollo Pythius in the city of Delphi. And the Carthaginian matrons did with their own hands cut the hair from their heads to make cords for the managing of their warlike engines and instruments in defence of their besieged city. But we, as if we were ashamed of being able to stand on our own legs, and without being supported by the assistance of others, go and enslave ourselves by engagements and obligations ; whereas it were much better, that restraining our humour, and confining it to what is profitable for us, we should of our plate, which we should either melt or sell, build a temple of liberty for ourselves, our wives, and our children.

The goddess Diana, in the city of Ephesus, gives to such debtors as can fly into her temple freedom and protection against their creditors. But the sanctuary of parsimony and moderation in expenses, into which no usurer can enter, to pluck thence and carry away any debtor prisoner, is always open for the wise, and affords them a long and large space of joyful and ho-

nourable repose. For as the prophetess, which gave oracles in the temple of the Pythian Apollo, about the time of the Median wars, answered the Athenians that God had for their safety given them a wall of wood, upon which, forsaking their lands, their city, their houses, and all their goods, they had recourse to their ships for the preservation of their liberty ; so God gives us a table of wood, vessels of earth, and garments of coarse cloth, if we desire to live and continue in freedom.

Aim not at gilded coaches, steeds of price,  
And harness, richly wrought with quaint device ;

for how swiftly soever they may run, yet will usuries overtake them, and outrun them.

Take rather the first ass thou shalt meet, or the first packhorse that shall come in thy way, and fly from that cruel and tyrannical enemy the usurer, who asks thee not fire and water, as heretofore did the barbarous king of Persia ; but, which is worse, touches thy liberty, wounds thy honour by proscriptions, and sets thy goods to sale by outcry. If thou payest him not, he troubles thee ; if thou hast wherewithal to satisfy him, he will not receive it, unless it be his pleasure. If thou sellest, he will have thy goods for nothing, or at a very under-rate ; and if thou wilt not sell, he will force thee to it. If thou suest him, he speaks to thee of an accommodation ; if thou swearest to give him content, he will domineer over thee. If thou goest to his house to discourse with him, he shuts the door against thee ; if thou stayest at home, he is always knocking at thy door, and will never stir from thee.

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The elder Cato said to a certain old man, who behaved himself ill, "My friend, seeing old age has of itself so many evils, why dost thou go about to add to them the reproach and shame of wickedness?" In like manner may we say to a man, oppressed with poverty, "since poverty has of itself so many and so great miseries, do not heap upon them the anguishes of borrowing and being in debt. Take not from poverty the only good thing in which it is superior to riches, to wit, freedom from pensive care." Otherwise thou wilt subject thyself to the derision of the common proverb, which says,

A goat I cannot bear away,  
Yet you an ox upon me lay.

Thou canst not bear poverty, and yet thou art going to load on thyself an usurer, which is a burden, even to a rich man, insupportable.

But you will say, perhaps, "how then would you have me to live?" Is this a question fit for thee to ask, who hast hands, feet, and a voice, who in brief art a man, whose property it is to love, and be beloved, to do, and to receive, a courtesy? Canst thou not teach grammar, bring up young children, be a porter or door-keeper, travel by sea, serve in a ship? There is in all these nothing more shameful or odious than to be dunned with the importunate clamours of such as are always saying, "pay me, give my money." Rutilius, that rich Roman, coming one day to Musonius the philosopher, whispered him thus in his ear, "Musonius, Jupiter the Saviour, whom you philosophers profess to imitate and follow, takes not up money at interest." Musonius, smiling, promptly answered him, "Nor yet does he lend for interest."



For this Rutilius, who was an usurer, upbraided the other with borrowing upon use. Now what a foolish stoical arrogance was this ! For what need was there of bringing in here Jupiter the Saviour, when he might have given him the same admonition by things that were familiar, and before his eyes : swallows run not themselves into debt ; ants borrow not upon interest ; and yet nature has given them neither reason, hands, nor art. But she has endued men with such abundance of understanding, that they maintain not only themselves, but also horses, dogs, partridges, hares, and jays. Why then dost thou condemn thyself, as if thou wert less able to persuade than a jay, more dumb than a partridge, and more ungenerous than a dog ; in that thou canst not oblige any man to be assistant to thee either by serving him, instructing him, delighting him, guarding him, or fighting in his defence ? Dost thou not see how many occasions the land, and how many the sea, affords for thy maintenance ? Hear, also, what Crates says :

Here saw I Micylus the wool to card,  
Whilst his wife spun, that they by labour hard  
In these hard times might 'scape the hungry jaws  
Of famine.—

King Antigonus, when he had not for a long time seen Cleanthes the philosopher, said to him, “ Dost thou, O Cleanthes, yet continue to grind ? ” — “ Yes, Sir, (replied Cleanthes), I still grind, and that I do to gain my living, and not depart from philosophy.” How great and generous was the courage of this man, who, coming from the mill and the kneading trough, did with the same hand, which had been employed in turning the stone, and moulding the dough, write

of the nature of the gods, moon, stars, and sun ! And yet we think these to be servile works !

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY COMPARED.

As Demetrius and Antony both passed through a variety of fortune, we shall consider, in the first place, their respective power and celebrity. These were hereditary to Demetrius ; for Antigonus, the most powerful of Alexander's successors, had reduced all Asia during his son's minority. On the other hand, the father of Antony was, indeed, a man of character, but not of a military character ; yet though he had no public influence or reputation to bequeath to his son, that son did not hesitate to aspire to the empire of Cæsar ; and, without any title either from consanguinity or alliance, he effectually invested himself with all that he had acquired : at least, by his own peculiar weight, after he had divided the world into two parts, he took the better for himself. By his lieutenants he conquered the Parthians, and drove back the barbarous nations about Caucasus, as far as the Caspian sea. Even the less reputable parts of his conduct are so many testimonies of his greatness. The father of Demetrius thought it an honour to marry him to Phila the daughter of Antipater, though there was a disparity in their years ; while Antony's connection with Cleopatra was considered as a degrading circumstance ; though Cleopatra, in wealth and magnificence, was superior to all the princes of her time, Arsaces excepted. Thus he had raised himself to such a pitch of grandeur, that the world in general thought him entitled even to more than he wished.

In Demetrius's acquisition of empire there was

nothing reprehensible. He extended it only to nations inured to slavery, and desirous of being governed. But the arbitrary power of Antony grew on the execrable policy of a tyrant, who once more reduced to slavery a people that had shaken off the yoke. Consequently the greatest of his actions, his conquest of Brutus and Cassius, is darkened with the inglorious motive of wresting its liberty from Rome. Demetrius, during his better fortunes, consulted the liberties of Greece, and removed the garrisons from the cities : while Antony made it his boast, that he had destroyed the assertors of his country's freedom in Macedonia.

Antony is praised for his liberality and munificence ; in which, however, Demetrius is so far his superior, that he gave more to his enemies than the former did to his friends. Antony was honoured for allowing a magnificent funeral to Brutus ; but Demetrius buried every enemy he had slain, and sent back his prisoners to Ptolemy, not only with their own property, but with presents.

Both were insolent in prosperity, and fell with too much ease into luxury and indulgence. But we never find Demetrius neglecting his affairs for his pleasures. In his hours of leisure, indeed, he had his *Lamia*, whose office it was, like the fairy in the fable, to lull him to sleep, or amuse him in his play. When he went to war, his spear was not bound about with ivy ; his helmet did not smell of perfume ; he did not come in the foppery of dress out of the chambers of the women : the riots of Bacchus and his train were hushed ; “ and he became,” as Euripides says, “ the minister of Mars.” In short, he never lost battle through the indulgence of luxury. This could

not be said of Antony : as in the pictures of Hercules we see Omphale stealing his club and his lion's skin, so Cleopatra frequently disarmed Antony, and, while he should have been prosecuting the most necessary expeditions, led him to dancing and dalliance on the shores of Canopus and Taphosiris. So, likewise, as Paris came from battle to the bosom of Helen, and even from the loss of victory to her bed, Antony threw victory itself out of his hands to follow Cleopatra.

Demetrius being under no prohibition of the laws, but following the example of Philip and Alexander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, married several wives, and treated them all with the greatest honour. Antony, though it was a thing unheard of amongst the Romans, had two wives at the same time. Besides, he banished her who was properly his wife, and a citizen, from his house, to indulge a foreigner with whom he could have no legal connexion. From their marriages, of course, one of them found no inconvenience ; the other suffered the greatest evils.

In respect to their amours, Antony was comparatively pardonable and modest. Historians tell us, that the Athenians turned the dogs out of the citadel, because they had their procreative intercourse in public. But Demetrius had his courtesans, and dishonoured the matrons of Athens even in the temple of Minerva. Nay, though cruelty seems to be inconsistent with sensual gratifications, he scrupled not to drive the most beautiful and virtuous youth in the city to the extremity of death, to avoid his brutal designs. In short, Antony, by his amorous indulgences, hurt only himself ; Demetrius injured others.

With regard to their behaviour to their parents and relations, that of Demetrius is irreproachable ; but Antony sacrificed his uncle to the sword of Cæsar, that he might be empowered in his turn to cut off Cicero.—A crime the latter was, which never could be made pardonable, had Antony even saved and not sacrificed an uncle by the means. They are both accused of perfidy ; in that one of them threw Artabazus in prison ; and the other killed Alexander. Antony, however, has some apology in this case ; for he had been abandoned and betrayed by Artabazus in Media. But Demetrius was suspected of laying a false accusation against Alexander, and of punishing, not the offender, but the injured.

There is this difference, too, in their military operations, that Demetrius gained every victory himself, and many of Antony's laurels were won by his lieutenants.

Both lost their empire by their own fault, but by different means. The former was abandoned by his people : the latter deserted his, even whilst they were fighting for him. The fault of Demetrius was, that, by his conduct, he lost the affection of his army : the fault of Antony, his desertion and neglect of that affection. Neither of them can be approved in their death ; but Demetrius much less than Antony ; for he suffered himself to fall into the hands of the enemy, and, with a spirit that was truly bestial, endured an imprisonment of three years for nothing but the low indulgences of appetite. There was a deplorable weakness, and many disgraceful circumstances, attending the death of Antony ; but he effected it at last without falling into the enemy's hands.

## DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO COMPARED.

These are the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking ; yet this, I think, I ought to observe, that Demosthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed in energy and strength the most celebrated leaders of his time : in grandeur and magnificence of style, all that were eminent for the sublime of declamation ; and, in accuracy and art, the most able professors of rhetoric. Cicero's studies were more general ; and, in his treasures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the academy ; and we see something of an ostentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the *forum*, and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their way of writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour, is always grave and serious. Nor does it smell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterized by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit, that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon ; and by affecting gaiety in the most serious things, to serve his client, he has offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his oration for Cælius, he says, “ Where is the absurdity, if a man, with an affluent



fortune at command, shall indulge himself in pleasure? It would be madness not to enjoy what is in his power; particularly when some of the greatest philosophers place man's chief good in pleasure\*?"

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, undertook his defence; and, in his pleading, took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He succeeded so far as to raise a laugh in the assembly; and even among the judges. Upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling. Whereas Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose ill natured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed he never gives into it at all, but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasions is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself, that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out.

Let arms revere the robe, the warrior's laurel  
Yield to the palm of eloquence.

At length he came to commend not only his own

\* Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologizes for the excesses of youth; but does not defend or approve the pursuit of pleasure.

actions and operations in the commowealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced as those he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people,

Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe.

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence ; but it is mean and illiberal to rest in such a qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, with a superior elevation of soul. He said, “ His ability to explain himself was a mere acquisition ; and not so perfect, but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience.” He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind, that can value itself upon such attainments.

They both, undoubtedly, had political abilities, as well as powers to persuade. They had them in such a degree, that men, who had armies at their devotion, stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes availed themselves of Demosthenes ; Pompey and young Cæsar, of Cicero ; as Cæsar himself acknowledges, in his Commentaries addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenæs.

It is an observation no less just than common, that nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man’s disposition as power and authority, for they awake every passion and discover every latent vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind. He

never obtained any eminent charge ; nor did he lead those armies against Philip, which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia ; at a time, too, when avarice reigned without control ; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder ; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately passed for a man of character. Yet, at such a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money ; many of his humanity and goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Catiline and his accomplices. On which occasion he verified the prediction of Plato, " That every state will be delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power unites with wisdom and justice in one person."

It is mentioned, to the disgrace of Demosthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary ; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause. To which we may add, that he was suspected of receiving money from the King of Persia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him (and they are not a few) ; yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile ; by the king of Cappadocia,

when proconsul ; and his friends pressed him to receive their benefactions, when in exile ; yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him ; for he was convicted of taking bribes : that of Cicero, great honour ; because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret : for the latter, the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia ; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was, (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with “ having reared a greater and more insupportable tyranny than that which they had destroyed.”

As to the manner of their death, we cannot think of Cicero's without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death,

which was a messenger that nature would soon have sent him, and overtaken notwithstanding and slaughtered by his enemies ! The other, though he did discover some fear, by taking sanctuary, is, nevertheless, to be admired for the provision he had made of poison, for the care with which he had preserved it, and his noble manner of using it. So that, when Neptune did not afford him an asylum, he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.

#### DION AND BRUTUS COMPARED.

What is principally to be admired in the lives of Dion and Brutus is their rising to such importance from inconsiderable beginnings. But here Dion has the advantage ; for, in the progress of glory, he had no coadjutor : whereas Cassius went hand in hand with Brutus ; and though in the reputation of virtue and honour he was by no means his equal, in military experience, resolution, and activity he was not inferior. Some have imputed to him the origin of the whole enterprise, and have asserted that Brutus would never, otherwise, have engaged in it. But Dion, at the same time that he made the whole military preparations himself, engaged the friends and associates of his design. He did not, like Brutus, gain power and riches from the war : he employed that wealth, on which he was to subsist as an exile in a foreign country, in restoring the liberties of his own. When Brutus and Cassius fled from Rome, and found no Asylum from the pursuit of their enemies, their only resource was war ; and they took up arms as much in their own defence as in that of the com-

mon liberty. Dion, on the contrary, was happier in his banishment than the tyrant that banished him ; and yet he voluntarily exposed himself to danger for the freedom of Sicily. Besides, to deliver the Romans from Cæsar, and the Syracusans from Dionysius, were enterprises of a very different kind. Dionysius was an avowed and established tyrant ; and Sicily, with reason, groaned beneath his yoke. But with respect to Cæsar, though, whilst his imperial power was in its infancy, he treated its opponents with severity ; yet, as soon as that power was confirmed, the tyranny was rather a nominal than a real thing : for no tyrannical action could be laid to his charge. Nay, such was the condition of Rome, that it evidently required a master ; and Cæsar was no more than a tender and skilful physician appointed by Providence to heal the distempers of the state. Of course the people lamented his death, and were implacably enraged against his assassins. Dion, on the contrary, was reproached by the Syracusans for suffering Dionysius to escape, and not digging up the former tyrant's grave.

With regard to their military conduct, Dion, as a general, was without a fault : he not only made the most of his own instructions, but, where others failed, he happily repaired the error. But it was wrong in Brutus to hazard a second battle, where all was at stake. And when that battle was lost, he had neither sagacity enough to think of new resources, nor spirit, like Pompey, to contend with fortune, though he had still reason to rely on his troops, and was absolute master at sea.

But what Brutus is chiefly blamed for was his ingratitude to Cæsar. He owed his life to his favour, as well as the lives of those prisoners for whom he in-



terceded. He was treated as his friend, and distinguished with particular marks of honour ; and yet he imbrued his hands in the blood of his benefactor. Dion stands clear of any charge like this. As a relation of Dionysius, he assisted and was useful to him in the administration : in which case his services were equal to his honours. When he was driven into exile, and deprived of his wife and his fortune, he had every motive that was just and honourable to take up arms against him.

Yet if this circumstance is considered in another light, Brutus will have the advantage. The greatest glory of both consists in their abhorrence of tyrants, and their criminal measures. This, in Brutus, was not blended with any other motive. He had no quarrel with Cæsar ; but exposed his life for the liberty of his country. Had not Dion been injured, he had not fought. This is clear from Plato's epistles ; where it appears, that he was banished from the court of Dionysius, and in consequence of that banishment made war upon him. For the good of the community, Brutus, though an enemy to Pompey, became his friend ; and though a friend to Cæsar, he became his enemy. His enmity and his friendship arose from the same principle, which was justice. But Dion, whilst in favour, employed his services for Dionysius ; and it was not till he was disgraced that he armed against him. Of course, his friends were not quite satisfied with his enterprise. They were apprehensive that when he had destroyed the tyrant, he might seize the government himself, and amuse the people with some softer title than that of tyranny. On the other hand, the very enemies of Brutus acknowledge that he was the only conspirator who had

no other view than that of restoring the ancient form of government.

Besides, the enterprise against Dionysius cannot be placed in competition with that against Cæsar. The former had rendered himself contemptible by his low manners, his drunkenness, and debauchery.—But to meditate the fall of Cæsar, and not tremble at his dignity, his fortune or his power,—nor shrink at that name which shook the kings of India and Parthia on their thrones, and disturbed their slumbers ;—this showed a superiority of soul, on which fear could have no influence. Dion was no sooner seen in Sicily than he was joined by thousands ; but the authority of Cæsar was so formidable in Rome that it supported his friends even after he was dead. And a simple boy rose to the first eminence of power by adopting his name ; which served as a charm against the envy and the influence of Antony. Should it be objected that Dion had the sharpest conflicts in expelling the tyrant, but that Cæsar fell naked and unguarded beneath the sword of Brutus, it will argue at least a consummate management and prudence to be able to come at a man of his power, naked and unguarded. Particularly when it is considered that the blow was not sudden, nor the work of one, or of a few men, but meditated, and communicated to many associates, of whom not one deceived the leader : for either he had the power of distinguishing honest men at the first view, or such as he chose he made honest by the confidence he reposed in them. But Dion confided in men of bad principles ; so that he must either have been injudicious in his choice ; or, if his people grew worse after their appointments, unskilful in his management. Neither of these can be consistent with

the talents and conduct of a wise man ; and Plato, accordingly, blames him in his letters, for making choice of such friends as, in the end, were his ruin.

Dion found no friend to revenge his death : but Brutus received an honourable interment even from his enemy Antony : and Cæsar allowed of that public respect which was paid to his memory, as will appear from the following circumstance. A statue of brass had been erected to him at Milan, in Gallia Cisalpina, which was a fine performance, and a striking likeness. Cæsar, as he passed through the town, took notice of it, and summoning the magistrates, in the presence of his attendants, he told them that they had broken the league, by harbouring one of his enemies. The magistrates, as may well be supposed, denied it, and stared at each other, profoundly ignorant what enemy he could mean. He then turned towards the statue, and, knitting his brows, said, “ Is not this my enemy that stands here ? ” The poor Milanese were struck dumb with astonishment ; but Cæsar told them, with a smile, that he was pleased to find them faithful to their friends in adversity, and ordered that the statue should continue where it was.

#### SAYINGS OF DIONYSIUS.

Some sayings of his are on record, by which it should seem that he did not bear his present misfortunes in an abject manner. When he arrived at Leucas, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuse, he said, “ He found himself in a situation like that of young men who had been guilty of some misdemeanor. For as they converse cheerfully, not-

withstanding, with their brothers, but are abashed at the thought of coming before their fathers, so he was ashamed of going to live in the mother city, and could pass his days much more to his satisfaction with them." Another time, when a certain stranger derided him at Corinth in a very rude and scornful manner, for having, in the meridian of his power, taken pleasure in the discourse of philosophers, and at last asked him, "What he had got by the wisdom of Plato?" "Do you think," said he, "that we have reaped no advantage from Plato, when we bear in this manner such a change of fortune?" Aristoxenus the musician, and some others, having inquired "What was the ground of his displeasure against Plato?" he answered, "That absolute power abounded with evils; but had this great infelicity above all the rest, that among the number of those who call themselves the friends of an arbitrary prince, there is not one who will speak his mind to him freely; and that by such false friends he had been deprived of the friendship of Plato."

Some one who had a mind to be arch, and to make merry with Dionysius, shook his robe when he entered his apartment, as is usual when persons approach a tyrant: and he returned the jest very well, bade him "Do the same when he went out, that he might not carry off some of the moveables."

One day, over their cups, Philip of Macedon, with a kind of sneer, introduced some discourse about the odes and tragedies which Dionysius the elder left behind him, and pretended to doubt how he could find leisure for such works. Dionysius answered smartly enough, "They were written in the time

which you and I, and other happy fellows, spend over the bowl.”

#### EDUCATION. LEARNING.

In brief therefore I say (and it may be what I say may justly challenge the repute of oracles rather than of advices), that the chief thing considerable in this matter, and which compriseth the beginning, middle, and end of all, is good education and regular instructions ; and that these two afford great helps and assistances towards the attainment of virtue and felicity. For all other good things are but human and of small value, such as will hardly recompense the industry required to the getting of them. It is indeed a desirable thing to be well descended : but it is of our ancestor's goods, not our own. Riches are valuable, but are the goods of Fortune (which frequently takes them from those that have them, and carries them to those that never so much as hoped for them) : yea, the greater they are, the fairer mark are they for those who aim at, who design to make our bags their prize, I mean evil servants and sycophants, and (which is the weightiest consideration of all) they are of such good things as may be enjoyed by the worst as well as the best of men. Glory is a thing deserving respect ; but unstable. Beauty is a prize that men fight to obtain ; but when obtained, it is of little continuance. Health a precious enjoyment, but easily impaired. Strength a thing desirable, but apt to be the prey of diseases and old age ; and that which it is a great mistake in any man, even while he enjoys it, to value himself upon ; for what indeed is any proportion of human strength, if compared to that of other animals, such as elephants, and bulls, and

lions? But learning alone, of all things in our possession, is immortal and divine; and two things there are that are most peculiar to human nature, understanding and reason; of which two, the understanding is the master of reason, and reason the servant of the understanding: which is against all assaults of fortune impregnable; not to be taken away by false accusation, nor impaired by sickness, nor enfeebled by old age. For the understanding only grows youthful by age, and time, which decays all other things, increaseth knowledge in us in our decaying years. Yea, war itself, which, like a torrent, bears down all other things before it, and carries them away with it, leaves learning only behind it to the possessor. Whence the answer which Stilpo, a philosopher of Megara, gave to Demetrius seems to me very remarkable, who, when he levelled that city to the ground, and made all the citizens bondmen, asked Stilpo, "whether he had lost any thing?" "Nothing," replied he; "for war cannot plunder virtue." To which saying that of Socrates also is very agreeable; who, when Gorgias (as I take it) asked him "what his opinion was of the king of Persia," and "whether he judged him happy," returned answer, "that he could not tell what to think of him, because he knew not how well he was furnished with virtue and learning;" as judging human felicity to consist in those endowments, and not in those which are subject to fortune.

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The wife of Phocion the Just was always wont to maintain, that her chiefest glory consisted in the warlike achievements of her husband: for my part, I am of opinion, that all my glory, not only that peculiar



to myself, but also what is common to all my familiar friends and relations, flows from the care and diligence of my master that taught me learning. For the most renowned performances of great commanders tend only to the preservation of some few private soldiers, or the safety of a single city or nation, but neither make the soldiers, nor the citizens, nor the people, any thing the better. But true learning, being the essence and body of felicity, and the source of prudence, we find to be profitable and beneficial, not only to one house, or city, or nation, but to all the race of men. Therefore, by how much more the benefit and advantage of learning transcends the profits of military performances, by so much the more is it to be remembered and mentioned as most worthy your study and esteem.

#### EQUANIMITY.

As the shoe turns about with the foot, and doth not deviate from its motion, so, according as the affections of the mind are, they render the life conformable to themselves. For it is not custom, as one observed, which makes even the best life pleasant to those who choose it, but it must be prudence in conjunction with it, which not only makes it the best for its kind, but sweetest in its enjoyment. The fountain of tranquillity therefore being in ourselves, let us cleanse it from all impurity, and make its streams limpid, that all external accidents, by being made familiar, may be no longer grievous to us, but that we may play them when they are tame.

Let not these things thy least concern engage,  
For though thou fret'st, they will not mind thy rage ;  
Him only good and happy we may call  
Who rightly useth what may him befall.

For Plato compared our life to a game at dice, where we ought to throw for what is most commodious to us, but to be content with our casts, let them be never so unfortunate ; we cannot make what chances we please turn up, if we play fair : this lies out of our power—that which is within it is to accept patiently what fortune shall allot us, and so to adjust things in their proper places, that what is our own may be disposed of to the best advantage ; and what hath happened against our will may offend us as little as is possible. Otherwsie, the men who live without measures, and with no prudence (like those whose constitution is so sickly and infirm, that they are equally impatient both of heats and colds,) prosperity exalts them above, and adversity dejects them beneath their temper : indeed, each fortune disturbs them, or rather they raise up storms to themselves in either, and, as they manage it, are querulous under good circumstances. Theodorus, who was called the atheist, for denying the existence of the gods, was used to say, that he reached out his instructions with the right, and his auditors received them with their left hands. So men of no education, when fortune would even be complaisant to them, yet they are so awkward in their observance, that they take her addresses on the wrong side. On the contrary, men that are wise, as the bees draw honey from the thyme, which is a most unsavory and dry herb, so they extract something that is convenient and useful even from the most bitter afflictions. This therefore let us learn and have inculcated upon us, that, just as he, who, throwing a stone at a dog, struck his step-mother, and then declared that he had not lost his cast, for even his mistake hit right, so for those things which fortune ob-

trudes upon us, contrary to our desires, let us alter their nature, by putting a different construction upon them.

#### FLAMINIUS AND PHILOPŒMEN COMPARED.

If we consider the extensive benefits which Greece received from Flaminius, we shall find that neither Philopœmen, nor other Grecians more illustrious than Philopœmen, will stand the comparison with him. For the Greeks always fought against Greeks ; but Flaminius, who was not of Greece, fought for that country. And at a time when Philopœmen, unable to defend his fellow citizens who were engaged in a dangerous war, passed over into Crete, Flaminius, having vanquished Philip in the heart of Greece, set cities and whole nations free. If we examine into their battles, it will appear, that Philopœmen, while he commanded the Achæan forces, killed more Greeks, than Flaminius, in asserting the Grecian cause, killed Macedonians.

As to their failings, ambition was the fault of Flaminius, and obstinacy that of Philopœmen. The former was passionate, and the latter implicable. Flaminius left Philip in his royal dignity, and pardoned the Ætolians ; whereas, Philopœmen, in his resentment against his country, robbed her of several of her dependencies. Besides, Flaminius was always a firm friend to those whom he had once served ; but Philopœmen was ever ready to destroy the merit of his former kindnesses, only to indulge his anger. For he had been a great benefactor to the Lacedæmonians ; yet afterwards he demolished their walls, and ravaged their country ; and in the end entirely changed and overturned their constitution. Nay, he seems to have

sacrificed his life to his passion and perverseness, by too hastily and unseasonably invading Messenia ; instead of taking, like Flaminius, every precaution for his own security and that of his troops.

But Philopœmen's military knowledge and experience were perfected by his many wars and victories. And whereas Flaminius decided his dispute with Philip in two engagements ; Philopœmen, by conquering in an incredible number of battles, left fortune no room to question his skill.

Flaminius, however, availed himself of the power of a great and flourishing commonwealth, and raised himself by its strength ; but Philopœmen distinguished himself at a time when his country was upon the decline. So that the success of the one is to be ascribed solely to himself, and that of the other to all the Romans. The one had good troops to command ; and the other made those so which he commanded. And though the great actions of Philopœmen, being performed against Grecians, do not prove him a fortunate man, yet they prove him a brave man. For, where all other things are equal, great success must be owing to superior excellence. He had to do with two of the most warlike nations among the Greeks ; the Cretans, who were the most artful, and the Lacedæmonians, who were the most valiant ; and yet he mastered the former by policy, and the latter by courage. Add to this, that Flaminius had his men ready armed and disciplined to his hand : whereas Philopœmen had the armour of his to alter, and to new-model their discipline. So that the things which contribute most to victory were the invention of the one, while the other only practised what was already in use. Accordingly Philopœmen's personal exploits were many and great ;

but we find nothing of that kind remarkable in Flaminius. On the contrary, a certain Ætolian said, by way of raillery, "Whilst I ran, with my drawn sword, to charge the Macedonians, who stood firm and continued fighting, Titus was standing still, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, and praying."

It is true, all the acts of Flaminius were glorious, while he was general, and during his lieutenancy too : but Philopœmen showed himself no less serviceable and active among the Achæans, when in a private capacity, than when he had the command. For, when commander-in-chief, he drove Nabis out of the city of Messene, and restored the inhabitants to their liberty ; but he was only in a private station when he shut the gates of Sparta against the general Diophanes, and against Flaminius, and by that means saved the Lacedæmonians. Indeed, nature had given him such talents for command, that he knew not only how to govern according to the laws, but how to govern the laws themselves, when the public good required it ; not waiting for the formality of the people's appointing him, but rather employing them, when the occasion demanded it. For he was persuaded, that, not he whom the people elect, but he who thinks best for the people, is the true general.

There was undoubtedly something great and generous in the clemency and humanity of Flaminius towards the Grecians ; but there was something still greater and more generous in the resolution which Philopœmen showed in maintaining the liberties of Greece against the Romans. For it is a much easier matter to be liberal to the weak than to oppose and to support a dispute with the strong. Since, therefore, after all our inquiry into the characters of these two

great men, the superiority is not obvious, perhaps we shall not greatly err, if we give the Grecian the palm of generalship and military skill, and the Roman that of justice and humanity.

#### THE SIGNS OF A FLATTERER.

Well, but after all, who is this flatterer then, whom we ought so industriously to avoid ?

I answer—he who neither professes nor seems to flatter ; who never haunts your kitchen, is never observed to watch the dial, that he may nick your suppertime ; who will not drink to excess, but who will keep his brains about him ; who is prying and inquisitive, would mix in your business, and wind himself into your secrets : in short, he who acts the friend, not with the air of a comedian or a satirist, but with the port and gravity of a tragedian ; for, as Plato says, “ it is the height of injustice to appear just, and be really a knave.” So are we to look upon those flatterers as most dangerous, who walk not barefaced, but in disguise ; who make no sport, but mind their business : for these often personate the true and sincere friend so exactly, that it is enough to make him fall under the like suspicion of a cheat, unless we be extremely curious in remarking the difference between them. \* \* \* \* \*

Now, because the enjoyment of a friend is attended with the greatest satisfaction incident to humanity, therefore the flatterer always endeavours to render his conversation highly pleasant and agreeable.

Again, because all acts of kindness and mutual beneficence are the constant attendants upon true friendship (on which account we usually say, “ a friend is more necessary than fire or water”), there-



fore the flatterer is ready upon every occasion to obtrude his service upon you, and will, with an indefatigable bustle and zeal, seek to oblige you, if he can.

In the next place, the parasite observing that all true friendship takes its origin from a concurrence of humours and inclinations, and that the same passions, the same aversions and desires, are the first cement of a true and lasting friendship ; he turns immediately all plastic matter, capable of every form, like soft wax, pliant and yielding to any impression, that the person on whom he designs shall think fit to stamp upon him ; and, in fine, so neatly resembles the original, that one would swear,

Sure thou the very Achilles art, and not his son.

But the most exquisite fineness of a flatterer consists in his imitation of that freedom of discourse which friends particularly use in mutually reprehending each other. For finding that men usually take it for what it really is, the natural language of friendship, as peculiar to it as certain notes or voices are to certain animals, and that, on the contrary, a shy reserved sheepishness looks both rude and unfriendly, he lets not even this proper character of a friend escape his imitation ; but as skilful cooks use to correct luscious meats with sharp and poignant sauce, that they may not be so apt to overcharge the stomach, so he seasons his flattery now and then with a little smartness and severity, lest the fulsomeness of repeated dissimulation should pall and cloy the company. And yet his reprehensions always carry something in them that is not true and genuine ; he seems to do it but with a kind of a sneering and grinning countenance at the best ; and though his reproofs may

possibly tickle the ear, yet they never strike effectually upon the heart. \* \* \* \*

The flatterer, observing how congenial it is to our natures to delight in the conversation of those who are, as it were, the counter-parts of ourselves, makes his first approaches to our affections at this avenue, where he gradually advances (like one making towards a wild beast in a pasture, with a design to tame and bring it to hand) by accommodating himself to the same studies, business, and colour of life, with the person upon whom he designs, till at last he gives him an opportunity to catch him, and becomes tractable by the man who strokes him. All this while the flatterer falls foul upon those courses of life, persons, and things, he perceives his dupe to disapprove, and then again as extravagantly commends those he is pleased to honour with his approbation ; still persuading the fop, that his choice and dislike are not the result of passion, but of a sound and discerning judgment.

Well then, by what signs or tokens shall we be able to know this counterfeit copy of ourselves, from that which is true and genuine ?

In the first place, we must accurately remark upon the whole tenor of his life and conversation, whether or no the resemblance he pretends to the original be of any continuance, natural and easy, and all of a piece ; whether he square his actions according to any one steady and uniform model, as becomes an ingenuous lover of conversation and friendship, which is all of one thread, and still like itself ; for this is a true friend indeed. But the flatterer, who has no principles in him, and leads not a life properly his own, but forms and moulds it according to the various humours

and caprices of those he designs to bubble, is never one and the same man, but a mere dapple or trimmer, who changes shapes with his company, like water that always turns and winds itself into the figure of the channel through which it flows. Apes, it seems, are usually caught by their antic mimicry of the motions and gesticulations of men ; and yet the men themselves are trepanned by the same craft of imitation in a flatterer, who adapts himself to their several humours, fencing and wrestling with one, singing and dancing with another. If he is in chase of a spark that delights in a pack of dogs, he follows him at his heels, hallooing almost as loud as Hippolytus in the tragedy of Phædra :

O what a pleasure 'tis, ye gods, to wind  
The shrill-mouthed horn, and chase the dappled hind :

And yet the huntsman himself is the game he designs for the toils. If he be in pursuit of some bookish young gentleman, then he is always poring, nourishes his reverend beard down to his heels, wears a tattered cloak, affects the careless indifferency of a philosopher, and can now discourse of nothing under Plato's triangles and rectangles. If he chance to fall into the acquaintance of a drunken, idle debauchee, who has got an estate,

Then sly Ulysses throws away his rags,  
puts off his long robe, mows down his fruitless crop  
of beard, drinks briskly, laughs modishly on the walks,  
and drolls handsomely upon the philosophical fops of  
the town.       \*       \*       \*       \*       \*

The opinions of a flatterer are as mutable and inconstant as the colours of the polypus ; he is never

constant to himself, nor properly his own man ; all his passions, his love and hatred, his joy and sorrow, are borrowed and counterfeit ; and, in a word, like a looking-glass, he only receives and represents the several faces or images of other men's affections and humours. Do but discommend one of your acquaintance a little in his company, and he will tell you it is a wonder you never found him out all this while, for his part he never fancied him in his life. Change but your style and commend him, he presently swears you oblige him in it, gives you a thousand thanks for the gentleman's sake, and believes your character of him to be just. Tell him you have thoughts of altering your course of life ; as for instance, to retire from all public employs to privacy and ease : he immediately wishes that he had retreated long ago from the hurry and drudgery of business, and the odium that attends it. Seem but again inclinable to an active life—" Why now (says he) you speak like yourself ; leisure and ease are sweet, it is true, but withal mean and inglorious." When you have thus trepanned him, it would be proper to cashier him with some such reply as this :

How now, my friend, what quite another man ?

I abhor a fellow who servilely complies with whatsoever I propose, and keeps pace with me in all my motions (my shadow can do that better than yourself) ; but my friend must deal plainly and impartially, and assist me faithfully with his judgment. \* \*

As a true friend endeavours to copy only the fairest originals ; so, on the contrary, the flatterer, like theameleon, which puts on all colours but the innocent white, being unable to reach those strokes of virtue

which are worth his imitation, takes care, however, that no failure or imperfection escape him. As unskilful painters, when they cannot hit the features and air of a face, content themselves with the faint resemblance in a wrinkle, a wart, or a scar ; so he takes up with his friend's intemperance, superstition, cholericness, severity to his servants, distrust of his relations and domestics, or the like. For, besides that a natural propensity to evil inclines him always to follow the worst examples, he imagines his assuming other men's vices will best secure him from the suspicion of being disaffected towards them, for their fidelity is often suspected who seem dissatisfied with faults, and wish a reformation ; which very thing lost Dion in the good opinion of Dionysius, Somius in Philip's, Cleomenes in Ptolemy's, and at last proved the occasion of their ruin : and therefore the flatterer pretends not only to the good humour of a companion, but to the faithfulness of a friend too, and would be thought to have so great a respect for you, that he cannot be disgusted at the very worst of your actions, as being indeed of the same make and constitution with yourself. Hence you shall have him pretend a share in the most common casualties that befall another ; nay, in complaisance, feign even diseases themselves : in company of those who are thick of hearing, he is presently half-deaf ; and with the dim-sighted, can see no more than they do. So the parasites about Dionysius, at an entertainment, to humour his blindness, stumbled one upon another, and jostled the dishes off his table.

But there are others who refine upon the former, by a pretended fellow suffering in the more private concerns of life, whereby they wriggle themselves

deeper into the affections of those they flatter ; as, if they find a man unhappily married, or distrustful of his children or domestics, they spare not their own family, but immediately entertain you with some lamentable story of the hard fortune they have met with in their children, their wife, their servants or relations. For by the parallel circumstances they pretend to, they seem more passionately concerned for the misfortunes of their friends ; who, as if they had already received some pawn and assurance of their fidelity, blab forth those secrets which they cannot afterwards handsomely retract, and dare not betray the least distrust of their new confidant for the future. \* \* \*

I must not omit the other artifice observable in his imitation ; which is this : That if at any time he counterfeit the good qualities of his friend, he immediately yields him the pre-eminence : whereas there is no competition, no emulation or envy, amongst true friends, but whether they are equally accomplished or no, they bear the same even unconcerned temper of mind towards each other. But the flatterer, remembering that he is but to act another's part, pretends only to such strokes as fall short of the original, and is willing to confess himself outdone in any thing but his vices, wherein alone he claims the precedency to himself ; as, if the man he is to wheedle be difficult and morose, he is quite overrun with choler ; if something superstitious, he is a perfect enthusiast ; if a little in love, for his part he is most desperately smitten : I laughed heartily at such a passage, says one ; but I had like to have died with laughter, says the other. But now, in speaking of any laudable qualities, he inverts his style ; as, I can run fast enough, says he, but you perfectly fly. I can sit upon a horse tolerably



well, but, alas ! what's that to this Hippocentaur for good horsemanship ! I have a tolerably good genius for poetry, and am none of the worst versifiers of the age ;

But thunder is the language of you gods, not mine.

And thus at the same time he obliges his friend both in approving of his abilities, by his owning them, and in confessing him incomparable in his way, by his coming short of his example. \* \* \*

Thucydides observes, that in the time of war and sedition, the names of good and evil are wont to be confounded : as, foolhardiness is called a generous espousal of a friend's quarrel ; a provident delay is nicknamed cowardice ; modesty, a mere pretext for unmanliness ; a prudent slow inspection into things, downright laziness. In like manner, if you observe it, a flatterer terms a profuse man liberal ; a timorous man, wary ; a dull fellow, grave ; a stingy miser, frugal ; an amorous youngster, kind and good-natured ; a passionate proud fool, stout ; and a mean spirited slave, courteous and observing. As Plato somewhere remarks, that a lover, who is always a flatterer of his beloved object, styles a flat nose amiable ; and a hawk nose, princely ; the black, virile ; and the fair, the offspring of the gods ; and observes particularly, that the appellation of honey-coloured is nothing but the daub of a gallant, who is willing to set off his mistress's pale complexion. Now indeed, an ugly fellow, bantered into an opinion that he is handsome, or a little man magnified into tall and portly, cannot lie long under the mistake, nor receive any great injury by the cheat : but when vice is extolled by the name of virtue, so that a man is induced to sin, not only without

regret, but with joy and triumph, and is hardened beyond the modesty of a blush for his enormities ; this sort of flattery, I say, has been fatal even to whole kingdoms. \* \* \* \*

Others again, like painters who enhance the lustre and beauty of a curious piece by the shades which surround it, slyly extol and encourage men in their vices, by deriding and railing at their contrary virtues. Thus, in the company of the debauched, the covetous, and the extortioner, they run down temperance and modesty as mere rusticity ; and justice and contentment with our present condition argue nothing in their phrase but a dastardly spirit, and an impotence to action. If they fall into the acquaintance of lubbers, who love laziness and ease, they stick not to explode the necessary administration of public affairs, as a troublesome intermeddling in other men's business ; and a desire to bear office, as an useless empty thirst after a name. To wheedle in with an orator they scout a philosopher ; and who so gracious as they with the jilts of the town, by laughing at wives who are faithful to their husbands' beds, as impotent and country-bred ? And what is the most egregious stratagem of all the rest, the flatterer shall traduce himself rather than want a fair opportunity to commend another ; as wrestlers put their body in a low posture, that they may the better overcome their adversaries. I am a very coward at sea (says he), impatient of any fatigue, and cannot digest the least ill language ; but such an one fears no colours, has no fault, is an admirable good man, bears all things with great patience and evenness of temper. \* \*

He who shall give himself the labour to observe, will find that the discourses of a flatterer contribute

nothing to the improvement of our prudence and understanding, but either only entertain us with the pleasure of some love intrigue, or make us indiscreetly angry, or envious, or puff us up into an empty troublesome opinion of ourselves, or increase our sorrows by pretending to share in them, or render us difficult, stingy, and incredulous, sour, timorous, and jealous, with several idle malicious stories, hints, and conjectures of his own. For he always fastens upon and pampers some distemper of the mind, growing, like a blotch or boil, upon its inflamed or putrid part only. Are you angry? revenge yourself, says he: covet you any thing? have it: are you afraid? fly: suspect you this, or that? believe it.

But if we find it something difficult to discover him in these attempts upon our passions, because they often violently overpower all the forces of our reason to the contrary; we may then trace him in other instances of his knavery; for he always acts consonant to himself. As, if you are afraid of a surfeit, and thereupon lie in suspense about your bath and diet, a friend indeed will advise you to act cautiously, and take care of your health; but the flatterer persuades you to the bath, bids you feed freely, and not starve yourself with mortification. If he observes you want briskness and spirit for action, as being unwilling to undergo the fatigues of a journey, or of a voyage, he will immediately tell you, "there is no haste; the business may be well enough deferred, or else transacted by proxy." If at any time you have promised to lend or give a friend a sum of money, and upon second thoughts would gladly retract your word, but are ashamed to do it; the flatterer puts his advice into the worst scale, inclines the balance to the saving side,

and strips you of your squeamish modesty, telling you, that “you ought not to be so prodigal, who live at great expenses, and are willing to relieve others beside him.” And therefore, unless we be mere strangers to ourselves, to our own desires, fears, confidence, or the like, the flatterer cannot easily escape our discovery ; for he is the great patron of these disorderly passions, endeavouring always to wind us up to excesses of this kind. \* \* \* \*

The temper of a friend is sincere, natural, without paint or varnish ; but that of a flatterer, as it is corrupt and diseased in itself, so stands it in need of many, and those curious and exquisite remedies too, to correct it. And therefore you shall have friends, upon an accidental rencounter, without either giving or receiving a formal salute, content themselves to speak their mutual kindness and familiarity in a nod and a smile : but the flatterer pursues you, runs to meet you, and is ready to kiss your hand before he comes at you ; and if you chance but to see and salute him first, he swears you must excuse his rudeness, and will produce you witness that he did not see you, if you please. Thus again, a friend dwells not upon every trifling punctilio, is not ceremonious and punctual in the transacting of business, is not inquisitive, nor intrudes into every piece of service : but the parasite is all obedience, all perpetual indefatigable industry, admits no rival in his services, but will wait your commands, which if you lay not upon him, he seems mightily afflicted, the unhappiest man in the world ! \* \* \* \*

No real friend will assist in the execution of a design, unless, being first advised with, he approve of it, as either honest or useful ; whereas the flatterer,

though permitted to consult and give his opinion about an undertaking, not only out of a paltry desire to comply with and gratify his friend at any rate, but lest he should be looked upon as disaffected to the business, survillely closes with and advances his proposal, how unreasonable soever. \* \* \* \*

The seemingly good offices of a flatterer have nothing of that sincerity and integrity, that simplicity and ingenuity, which recommend a kindness ; but are always attended with bustle and noise, hurry, sweat, and contracting the brow, to enhance your opinion of the great pains he has taken for you ; like a picture drawn in gaudy colours, with folded torn garments, full of angles and wrinkles, to make us believe it an elaborate piece, and done to the life. Besides, the flatterer is so extremely troublesome, in recounting the weary steps he has taken, the cares he has had upon him, the persons he has been forced to disoblige, with a thousand other inconveniences he has laboured under upon your account, that you will be apt to say, the business was never worth all this din and clatter about it. For a kindness once upbraided loses its grace, turns a burden, and becomes intolerable. But the flatterer not only reproaches us with his services already past, but at the very instant of their performance ; whereas, if a friend be obliged to speak of any civility done another, he modestly mentions it indeed, but attributes nothing to himself. \* \* \*

A friend, if you want his assistance in a chargeable, dangerous, and laborious enterprise, embarks in the design cheerfully, and without reserve ; but if such as will not stand with his reputation and honour, he fairly desires to be excused. Whereas, on the contrary, if you offer to put a flatterer upon a difficult

or hazardous employment, he shuffles you off, and begs your pardon. For, but sound him, as you rap a vessel, to try whether it be whole or cracked, full or empty, and he shams you off with the nosie of some paltry frivolous excuses : but engage him in any mean, sordid, and inglorious service, abuse him, kick him, trample on him, he bears all patiently, and knows no affront. For as the ape, who cannot keep the house like a dog, or bear a burden like a horse, or plough like an ox, serves to be abused, to play the buffoon, and to make sport ; so the parasite, who can neither plead your cause, nor be your counsel, nor espouse your quarrel, as being averse from all painful and good offices, denies you in nothing that may contribute to your pleasure, turns pander to your lust, provides you a handsome entertainment, looks that your bill be reasonable, and sneaks to your miss ; but shall treat your relations with disrespect, and impudently turn your wife out of doors, if you commission him. So that you may easily discover him in this particular ; for, put him upon the most base and dirty actions, he will not spare his own pains, provided he can but gratify you.

There remains yet another way to discover him, by his inclinations towards your intimates and familiars. For there is nothing more agreeable to a true and sordial acquaintance than to love with, and be beloved of, many ; and therefore he always sedulously endeavours to gain his friend the affections and esteem of other men. For, being of opinion that all things ought to be in common amongst friends, he thinks nothing ought to be more so than they themselves. But the faithless, the adulterate, and friend of base alloy, who is conscious to himself of the disservice he



does true friendship, by that false coin of it which he puts upon us, is naturally full of emulation and envy, even towards those of his own profession, endeavouring to outdo them in their common talent of babbling and buffoonery, whilst he reveres and cringes to his betters, whom he dares no more vie with than a footman with a Lydian chariot, or lead, (to use Simonidas's expression) with refined gold. Therefore this light and empty counterfeit, finding he wants weight, when put into the balance against a solid and substantial friend, endeavours to remove him as far as he can ; like him, who having painted a cock extremely ill, commanded his servant to take the original out of sight ; and if he cannot compass his design, then he proceeds to compliment and ceremony, pretending outwardly to admire him, as a person far beyond himself, whilst by secret calumnies he blackens and undermines him.

#### THE FRIENDS OF THE GREAT.

The palaces of noblemen and princes appear guarded with splendid retinues of diligent obsequious servants, and every room is crowded with a throng of visitors, who caress the great man with all the endearing gestures and expressions that wit and breeding can invent ; and it may be thought, I confess, at first sight, that such are very fortunate, in having so many cordial real friends at their command ; whereas it is all bare pageantry and show. Change the scene, and you may observe a far greater number of flies as industriously busy in their kitchens ; and as these would vanish were the dishes empty and clean, so neither would that other sort of insects pay any further respect, were nothing to be got by it.

## TRUE FRIENDSHIP.

There are chiefly these requisites to true friendship :—virtue, as a thing lovely and desirable ; familiar conversation, as pleasant ; and advantage, as necessary. For we must first choose a friend upon a right judgment made of his excellent qualities ; having chosen him, we must perceive a pleasure in his converse ; and upon occasion he must be useful to us in our concerns : all which (especially judgment in our choice, the main point of all) are inconsistent with a numerous acquaintance.

## GARRULITY.

He hopes that there is yet some room to try an experiment for the cure of this distemper, let us begin with this golden sentence to the impertinent prater—

Be silent, boy, and thou wilt find i' the end  
What benefits on silent lips attend.

Among which, two of the first, and chiefest, are, as well to hear, as to be heard. To either of which these talkative companions can never attain ; so unhappy they are still to meet with disappointments, though they desire it never so much. For, as for those other distempers of the soul, such as avarice, ambition, and exorbitant love of pleasure, they have this happiness—to enjoy what they so eagerly covet. But this is that which most afflicts these idle prattlers, that being desirous of nothing more than of company that will hear them prate, they can never meet with it, in regard that all men avoid their society ; and whether sitting in a knot together, or walking, so soon as they behold a

prattler advancing towards them, they presently give warning to each other, and adjourn to another place. And as, when there happens a deep silence in any assembly, so that all the company seems to be mute, we say that Mercury is got among them ; so when a fool, full of noise and talk, enters into any room where friends and acquaintance are met to discourse, or else to feast and be merry, all people are hushed of a sudden, afraid of giving him any occasion to set his tongue upon the career ; but if he once begin to open his mouth, up they rise, and away they trip ; like seamen foreseeing a sudden storm, and rolling of the waves, when they hear the north wind begin to whistle from some adjoining promontory, and hastening into harbour. Whence it comes to pass, that they never can meet with any that are willing, either to eat, or drink, or lodge with them in the same room, either upon the road or upon a voyage, unless constrained thereto by necessity. For so importunate he is, and in all places, that sometimes he will pull you by the coat, sometimes by the beard, and sometimes be hunching your sides, to make you speak. How highly then, according to the saying of Archilochus, are to be prized a swift pair of legs ! Nay, by Jove, it was the opinion of wise Aristotle himself : for he, being perplexed with an egregious prater, and tired out with his absurd stories, and idle repetitions of “ and is not this a wonderful thing, Aristotle ? ” “ No wonder at all (said he) in this ; but if a man should stand still to hear you prate thus, who had legs to run away, that were a wonder indeed ! ” To another of the same stamp, that, after a long tale of a roasted horse, excused himself by saying, “ that he was afraid he had tired him with his prolixity,” the philosopher

replied, "no, upon my word, for I never minded what you said." On the other hand, should it so fall out as for there to be no avoiding the vexation of one of these chattering fops, Nature has afforded us this happiness, that it is in the power of the soul to lend the outward ears of the body, to endure the brunt of the noise, while she retires to the remoter apartments of the mind, and there employs herself in better and more useful thoughts ; by which means, those sonorous babblers are at the same time disappointed, as well of auditors, as of people who believe what they say.

## GOVERNMENT.

Virtue is not so weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the sentiment just which he puts in the mouth of one of the persons of his drama :

—The firmest mind will fail

Beneath misfortune's stroke, and, stunned, depart  
From its sage plan of action.

All the advantage that Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous is, the bringing upon them unjust reproach and censure, instead of the honour and esteem which are their due, and by that means lessening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs prosper, the people, elated with their strength and success, behave with greater insolence to good ministers ; but it is the very reverse. Misfortunes always sour their temper ; the least thing will then disturb them ; they take fire at trifles ; and they are impatient of the least severity of expression. He who reproves their faults

seems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free address is considered as an insult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member smart, so it often happens, that a remonstrance, though pregnant with truth and sense, hurts and irritates the distressed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expresses such things as are pleasant by the word *menoikes*, which signifies what is *symphonious to the mind*, what soothes its weakness, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark brown-colours, and avoid such as are bright and glaring. So it is with a state, in any series of ill-conducted and unprosperous measures ; such is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the least alarm ; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its remembrance, gives it inexpressible pain, though not only salutary, but necessary ; and it will not be heard, except its harshness is modified. It is a difficult task to govern such a people ; for if the man who tells them the truth falls the first sacrifice, he who flatters them at last perishes with them.

The mathematicians say, the sun does not move in the same direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite opposite, but circulating with a gentle and almost insensible obliquity, gives the whole system such a temperature as tends to its preservation. So in a system of government, if a statesman is determined to describe a straight line, and in all things to go against the inclinations of the people, such rigour must make his administration odious ; and, on the other hand, if he suffers himself to be carried along with their most erroneous motions, the government will soon be in a tottering and ruinous state. The

latter is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening the reins, and sometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only measures that are formed upon rational principles : for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will bring men to concur in many useful schemes, which they could not be brought into by despotism and violence. It must be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness ; but when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this sublime harmony the Supreme Being governs the world ; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and though his influence is irresistible, it is rational and mild.

## JUSTICE TO ENEMIES.

This is the greatest, and by far the most illustrious instance of virtue, that we accustom ourselves to deal justly and uprightly with our enemies ; then we shall not fail to behave ourselves so towards our friends. For as Simonidas was wont to take notice, that there was no lark without its crest ; so the disposition of men is naturally pregnant with strife, suspicion, and envying ; chiefly theirs, who, as Pindar observes, are without understanding, and have no solid judgment in things. No man can do any thing that will tend more to his own profit, and the preservation of his peace, than utterly to purge out of his mind these corrupt affections, and cast them off as the very sink of all iniquity, that they may create no more mischief



between himself and his friends. This, Onomademus, a judicious and wise man, understood well, who, when he was of the prevailing side in a civil commotion at Chios, gave this counsel to his friends, that they should not quite destroy or drive away those of the adverse party ; but let some abide there, for fear they should begin to fall out among themselves, as soon as their enemies were all out of the way. Therefore if these uneasy dispositions of the mind be spent and consumed upon enemies, they would never molest or disquiet our friends. Neither doth Hesiod approve of one potter's envying another, or that a neighbour and relation should resent it ill, that his brother prospers, and is successful in the world. But if there be no other way whereby we may be delivered from emulation, envy, or contention ; we may suffer our minds to vent these passions upon the prosperity of our enemies, and give a little loose to our anger that way. For as gardeners that have knowledge and experience in plants, expect their roses and violets should grow the better by being set near leeks and onions, because all the sour juices of the earth are conveyed into these—so an enemy, by attracting to himself our vicious and peevish qualities, may render us less humoursome, more candid or ingenuous to our friends that are in a better or more happy state than ourselves.

Wherefore let us enter the lists with our enemies, and contend with them for true glory, lawful empire, and just gain. Let us not so much debase ourselves, as to be troubled and fret at any possessions they enjoy more than we have. Let us rather carefully observe those good qualities wherein our enemies excel us ; so that by these motives we may be excited to

outdo them in honest diligence, indefatigable industry, prudent caution, and exemplary sobriety : as Themistocles complained that the victory gained by Miltiades, at Marathon, would not let him sleep. But whosoever views his adversary exalted far above him in the happiness and wealth of this world, more eminent in the administration of public affairs, or in the favour of great men, and doth not put forth all his strength and power to get before him in these things ; this man commonly pines away, and by degrees sinks into the sloth and misery of an envious and unactive life.

And we may observe, that envy and hatred do raise such clouds in the understanding, that a man shall not be able to pass a right judgment concerning things which he hates. But whosoever with an impartial eye beholds, and with a sincere mind judges, of the life and manners, discourses and actions, of his enemy, he will soon understand, that many of those things that raise his envy were gotten by honest care, a discreet providence, and virtuous deeds. Thus the love of honourable and brave actions may be kindled and advanced in him ; an idle and lazy life may be contemned and forsaken. But if our enemies arrive at high places in the courts of princes, and by flattery or frauds, by bribery and gifts, we should not be troubled at it, but rather pleased in comparing our undisguised and honest way of living with theirs that is quite contrary. For Plato, who was a competent judge, was of opinion, that virtue was a more valuable treasure than all the riches above, or all the mines under, the earth.

So Solon believed, who was wont to say, he would not exchange the enjoyment of virtue for the most

popular applauses in theatres, the loftiest seats among eunuchs, concubines and noblemen. For nothing that is worth any one's appetite, nothing that is handsome or becoming a man, can proceed from that which is in itself evil and base. But, as Plato repeats once and again, the lover cannot see the faults of the thing or person that he loves, and we apprehend soonest what our enemies do amiss. The laws of reason and humility, however, oblige us not to triumph at their miscarriages, nor to be grieved when they do any thing that deserves praise and commendation. But we are bound to consider in both respects ; how we may render ourselves better than they are, by avoiding what is faulty and vicious in them ; and be sure we shall not be the worse, if we imitate them in what they do excel.

#### LYSANDER AND SYLLA COMPARED.

We have now gone through the life of Sylla, and will proceed to the comparison. This, then, Lysander and he have in common, that they were entirely indebted to themselves for their rise. But Lysander has this advantage, that the high offices he gained were with the consent of the people, while the constitution of his country was in a sound and healthy state ; and that he got nothing by force or by acting against the laws—

In civil broils the worst of men may rise.

So it was then in Rome. The people were so corrupt, and the republic in so sickly a condition, that tyrants sprung up on every side. Nor is it any wonder if Sylla gained the ascendant, at a time when wretches like Glaucius and Saturninus expelled such men as

Metellus ; when the sons of consuls were murdered in the public assemblies ; when men supported their seditious purposes with soldiers purchased with money, and laws were enacted with fire and sword and every species of violence.

In such a state of things, I do not blame the man who raised himself to supreme power ; all I say is, that when the commonwealth was in so depraved and desperate a condition, power was no evidence of merit. But since the laws and public virtue never flourished more at Sparta than when Lysander was sent upon the highest and most important commissions, we may conclude that he was the best among the virtuous, and first among the great. Thus the one, though he often surrendered the command, had it as often restored to him by his fellow-citizens, because his virtue, which alone has a claim to the prize of honour, continued still the same. The other, after he was once appointed general, usurped the command, and kept in arms for ten years, sometimes styling himself Consul, sometimes Proconsul, and sometimes Dictator, but was always in reality a tyrant.

It is true, as we have observed above, Lysander did attempt to make a change in the Spartan constitution, but he took a milder and more legal method than Sylla. It was by persuasion, not by arms, he proceeded ; nor did he attempt to overturn every thing at once. He only wanted to correct the establishment as to kings. And indeed it seemed natural that in a state which had the supreme direction of Greece, on account of its virtue, rather than any other superiority, merit should gain the sceptre. For as the hunter and the jockey do not so much consider the breed, as the dog or horse already bred ; (for what if the foal

should prove a mule ?) so the politician would entirely miss his aim, if, instead of inquiring into the qualities of a person for first magistrate, he looked upon nothing but his family. Thus the Spartans deposed some of their kings, because they had not princely talents, but were persons of no worth or consequence. Vice, even with high birth, is dishonourable ; and the honour which virtue enjoys is all her own ; family has no share in it.

They were both guilty of injustice ; but Lysander *for* his friends, and Sylla *against* his. Most of Lysander's frauds were committed for his creatures, and it was to advance them to high stations and absolute power that he dipped his hands in so much blood : whereas Sylla envied Pompey the army, and Dolabella the naval command he had given them ; and he attempted to take them away. And when Lucretius Ofella, after the greatest and most faithful services, solicited the consulship, he ordered him to be despatched before his eyes. Terror and dismay seized all the world, when they saw one of his best friends thus murdered.

If we consider their behaviour with respect to riches and pleasure, we shall find the one the prince, and the other the tyrant. When the power and authority of Lysander were so extensive, he was not guilty of one act of intemperance or youthful dissipation. He, if any man, avoided the sting of that proverb, *Lions within doors, and foxes without*. So sober, so regular, so worthy of a Spartan, was his manner of living. Sylla, on the other hand, neither let poverty set bounds to his passions in his youth, nor years in his age. But, as Sallust says, while he was giving his countrymen laws for the regulation of marriages

and for promoting sobriety, he indulged himself in adultery and every species of lust.

By his debaucheries he so drained the public treasures, that he was obliged to let many cities in alliance and friendship with Rome purchase independence and the privilege of being governed only by their own laws ; though at the same time he was daily confiscating the richest and best houses in Rome. Still more immense were the sums he squandered upon his flatterers. Indeed, what bounds or moderation could be expected in his private gifts, when his heart was dilated with wine, if we do but attend to one instance of his behaviour in public ? One day as he was selling a considerable estate, which he wanted a friend to have at an under-price, another offered more, and the crier proclaiming the advance, he turned with indignation to the people, and said, “ What outrage and tyranny is this, my friends, that I am not allowed to dispose of my own spoils as I please ? ”

Far from such rapaciousness, Lysander, to the spoils he sent his countrymen, added his own share. Not that I praise him in that : for perhaps he hurt Sparta more essentially by the money he brought into it, than Sylla did Rome by that which he took from it. I only mention it as a proof of the little regard he had for riches. It was something very particular, however, that Sylla, while he abandoned himself to all the profusion of luxury and expense, should bring the Romans to sobriety ; whereas Lysander subjected the Spartans to those passions which he restrained in himself. The former acted worse than his own laws directed, and the other brought his people to act worse than himself : for he filled Sparta with the love of



that which he well knew how to despise. Such they were in their political capacity.

As to military achievements and acts of generalship, the number of victories, and the dangers he had to combat, Sylla is beyond comparison. Lysander, indeed, gained two naval victories ; to which we may add his taking of Athens ; for, though that affair was not difficult in the execution, it was glorious in its consequences. As to his miscarriage in Boetia and at Haliartus, ill-fortune, perhaps, had some concern in it, but it was principally owing to indiscretion ; since he would not wait for the great reinforcement which the king was bringing from Plataea, and which was upon the point of joining him, but with an ill-timed resentment and ambition, marched up to the walls. Hence it was, that he was slain by some troops of no consideration, who sallied out to the attack. He fell not as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, who was slain as he was making head against an impetuous enemy ; not like Cyrus, or Epaminondas, who received a mortal wound as he was rallying his men and ensuring to them the victory. These great men died the death of generals and kings. But Lysander threw away his life ingloriously like a common soldier or desperate adventurer. By his death he showed how right the ancient Spartans were in not choosing to fight against stone walls, where the bravest man in the world may be killed ; I will not say by an insignificant man, but by a child or woman. So Achilles is said to have been slain by Paris at the gates of Troy. On the other hand, so many pitched battles were won by Sylla, and so many myriads of enemies killed, that it is not easy to number them. He took Rome itself

twice, and the Piræus at Athens, not by famine, as Lysander had done, but by assault, after he had defeated Archelaus in several great battles at land, and forced him to take refuge in his fleet.

It is a material point, too, to consider what generals they had to oppose. I can look upon it as no more than the play of children, to have beaten Antiochus, who was no better than Alcibiades's pilot, and to have outwitted Philocles the Athenian demagogue,

A man whose tongue was sharpen'd—not his sword.

Mithridates would not have compared them with his groom, nor Marius with one of his lictors. But Sylla had to contend with princes, consuls, generals, and tribunes of the highest influence and abilities : and, to name but a few of them, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius ; among the kings, more powerful than Mithridates ; or among the people of Italy, more warlike than Lamponius and Telesinus ? yet Sylla banished the first, subdued the second, and killed the other two.

What is of more consequence, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, is, that Lysander was supported in all his enterprises by his friends at home, and owed all his success to their assistance ; whereas Sylla, a banished man, overpowered by a faction, at a time when his enemies were expelling his wife, destroying his house, and putting his friends to death, fought the battles of his country on the plains of Bœtia against armies that could not be numbered, and was victorious in her cause. This was not all ; Mithridates offered to second him with all his power and join him with all his forces against his enemies at Rome, yet he relaxed not the least of his demands,

nor showed him the least countenance. He would not so much as return his salutation, or give him his hand, till he promised in person to relinquish Asia, and to deliver up his ships, and to restore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their respective kings. There was nothing in the whole conduct of Sylla more glorious, or that showed greater magnanimity. He preferred the public good to his own : like a dog of generous breed, he kept his hold till his adversary had given out, and after that he turned to revenge his own cause.

The different methods they observed with respect to the Athenians contribute not a little to mark their characters. Sylla, though they bore arms against him for Mithridates, after he had taken their city, indulged them with their liberty and the privilege of their own laws : Lysander showed no sort of compassion for a people of late so glorious and powerful, but abolished the popular government, and set over them the most cruel and unjust of tyrants.

Perhaps, we shall not be wide of the truth, if we conclude that in the life of Sylla there are more great actions, and in Lysander's fewer faults ; if we assign to the Grecian the prize of temperance and prudence, and to the Roman that of valour and capacity for war.

#### MARIUS AT MINTURNÆ AND AT CARTHAGE.

They were not now above two miles and a half from the city of Minturnæ, when they espied at some considerable distance a troop of horse making towards them, and at the same time happened to see two barks sailing near the shore. They ran down, therefore, to the sea, with all the speed and strength they had ; and

when they had reached it, plunged in and swam towards the ships. Granius gained one of them, and passed over to an opposite island, called *Ænaria*. As for Marius, who was very heavy and unwieldy, he was borne with much difficulty by two servants above the water, and put into the other ship. The party of horse were by this time come to the sea-side, from whence they called to the ship's crew, either to put ashore immediately, or else to throw Marius overboard, and then they might go where they pleased. Marius begged of them with tears to save him ; and the masters of the vessel, after consulting together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions several times, resolved to make answer, " That they would not deliver up Marius." Upon this the soldiers rode off in a great rage ; and the sailors, soon departing from their resolution, made for land. They cast anchor in the mouth of the river *Liris*, where it overflows and forms a marsh, and advised Marius, who was much harassed, to go and refresh himself on shore, till they could get a better wind. This they said would happen at a certain hour, when the wind from the sea would fall, and that from the marshes rise. Marius believing them, they helped him ashore ; and he seated himself on the grass, little thinking of what was going to befall him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and sailed away : thinking it neither honourable to deliver up Marius, nor safe to protect him.

Thus deserted by all the world, he sat a good while on the shore, in silent stupefaction. At length, recovering himself with much difficulty, he rose and walked in a disconsolate manner through those wild and devious places, till by scrambling over deep bogs

and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens. He threw himself at his feet, and begged him "To save and shelter a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would reward him far beyond his hopes." The cottager, whether he knew him before, or was then moved with his venerable aspect, told him, "His hut would be sufficient, if he wanted only to repose himself; but if he was wandering about to elude the search of his enemies, he would hide him in a place much safer and more retired." Marius desiring him to do so, the poor man took him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in a hollow place by the river, where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds and other light things, that would cover, but not oppress him.

In a short time, however, he was disturbed with a tumultuous noise from the cottage. For Geminus had sent a number of men from Terracina in pursuit of him; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man for having entertained and concealed an enemy to the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave; and having stripped himself, plunged into the bog, amidst the thick water and mud. This expedient rather discovered than screened him. They hauled him out naked and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magistrates. For proclamation had been made through all those towns, that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death wherever he was found. The magistrates, however, thought proper to consider of it, and sent him under a guard to the house of Fannia. This woman had an inveterate aversion to Marius. When

she was divorced from her husband Tinnius, she demanded her whole fortune, which was considerable, and Tinnius alleging adultery, the cause was brought before Marius, who was then consul for the sixth time. Upon the trial it appeared that Fannia was a woman of bad fame before her marriage ; and that Tinnius was no stranger to her character when he married her. Besides, he had lived with her a considerable time in the state of matrimony. The consul, of course, reprimanded them both. The husband was ordered to restore his wife's fortune, and the wife, as a proper mark of her disgrace, was sentenced to pay a fine of four drachmas.

Fannia, however, forgetful of female resentment, entertained and encouraged Marius to the utmost of her power. He acknowledged her generosity, and at the same time expressed the greatest vivacity and confidence. The occasion of this was an auspicious omen. When he was conducted to her house, as he approached, and the gate was opened, an ass came out to drink at a neighbouring fountain. The animal, with a vivacity uncommon to his species, fixed its eyes steadfastly on Marius, then brayed aloud, and, as it passed him, skipped wantonly along. The conclusion which he drew from this omen was, that the gods meant he should seek his safety by sea ; for that it was not in consequence of any natural thirst that the ass went to the fountain\*. This circumstance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered

\* All that was extraordinary in this circumstance was, that the ass, like the sheep, is seldom seen to drink.



the door of his chamber to be secured, he went to rest.

However, the magistrates and council of Minturnæ concluded that Marius should immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office ; but a dragoon, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for both are mentioned in history), went up to him sword in hand, with an intent to despatch him. The chamber in which he lay was somewhat gloomy, and a light, they tell you, glanced from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the assassin ; while at the same time he heard a solemn voice saying, “ Dost thou dare to kill Marius ? ” Upon this the assassin threw down his sword and fled, crying, “ I cannot kill Marius.” The people of Minturnæ were struck with astonishment—pity and remorse ensued—should they put to death the preserver of Italy ? was it not even a disgrace to them that they did not contribute to his relief ? “ Let him go,” said they, “ let the exile go, and await his destiny in some other region ! It is time we should deprecate the anger of the gods, who have refused the poor, the naked wanderer the common privileges of hospitality ! ” Under the influence of this enthusiasm, they immediately conducted him to the sea-coast. Yet in the midst of their officious expedition they met with some delay. The Marician grove, which they hold sacred, and suffer nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way. Consequently they could not pass through it, and to go round it would be tedious. At last an old man of the company cried out, that no place, however religious, was inaccessible, if it could contribute to the preservation of Marius. No sooner had he said

this, than he took some of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The rest followed with the same alacrity, and when Marius came to the sea-coast, he found a vessel provided for him, by one Belæus. Some time after he presented a picture representing this event to the temple of Marica. When Marius set sail, the wind drove him to the island of Æneria, where he found Granius and some other friends, and with them he sailed for Africa. Being in want of fresh water, they were obliged to put in at Sicily, where the Roman quæstor kept such strict watch, that Marius very narrowly escaped, and no fewer than sixteen of the watermen were killed. From thence he immediately sailed for the island of Meninx, where he first heard that his son had escaped with Cethegus, and was gone to implore the succor of Hiempsal, king of Numidia. This gave him some encouragement, and immediately he ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor in Africa was Sextilius. He had neither received favour nor injury from Marius, but the exile hoped for something from his pity. He was just landed, with a few of his men, when an officer came and thus addressed him: "Marius, I come from the prætor Sextilius, to tell you, that he forbids you to set foot in Africa. If you obey not, he will support the senate's decree, and treat you as a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was struck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for some time, but stood regarding the officer with a menacing aspect. At length the officer asked him what answer he should carry to the governor. "Go and tell him," said the unfortunate man with a sigh, "that thou hast seen the exile Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage." Thus in the hap-

piest manner in the world, he proposed the fate of that city and his own as warnings to the prætor.

#### THE REPENTANCE OF MINUCIUS.

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post ; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself : “ Friends and fellow soldiers ! not to err at all in the management of great affairs, is above the wisdom of men : but it is the part of a prudent and good man to learn, from his errors and miscarriages, to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in so long a time, I have learned in the small compass of one day, that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another ; and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be foiled by. In all other respects, the dictator shall be your commander ; but in the due expressions of gratitude to him, I will be your leader still, by being the first to show an example of obedience and submission.”

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of father ; at the same time his soldiers called those of Fabius their

patrons : an appellation which freedmen give to those that enfranchise them. These respects being paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to the dictator : “ You have this day, Fabius, gained two victories—one over the enemy by your valour, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, by the latter you have instructed us ; and Hannibal’s victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to us. I call you father, not knowing a more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men.” After this, he threw himself into the arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

#### NICIAS AND CRASSUS COMPARED.

One of the first things that occurs in this comparison is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a less exceptionable manner than Crassus. The working of mines, indeed, does not seem very suitable to a man of Nicias’s character, where the persons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, some of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholesome air put an end to their being. But it is comparatively an honourable pursuit, when put in parallel with getting an estate by the confiscations of Sylla, or by buying houses in the midst of fires. Yet Crassus dealt as openly in these things as he did in agriculture and usury. As to the other matters which he was censured for, and which he denied, namely, his making money of his vote in the senate, his extorting

it from the allies, his overreaching silly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of ill men ; nothing like these things was ever imputed by Slander herself to Nicias. As to his wasting his money upon those who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule ; and unworthy, perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Aristides, but necessary for him, who had a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus the orator afterwards made a merit of to the people : when censured for having bought off one of these trading informers, " I rejoice," said he " that after being so long employed in the administration, I am discovered to have given money, and not taken it."

As to their expenses, Nicias appears to have been more public spirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were so many proofs of noble and generous sentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and, indeed, his whole estate, amounted only to a small part of what Crassus expended at once, in entertaining so many myriads of men, and supplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very strange to me, if there should be any one who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconsistency of character, particularly when he sees men laying out that money in an honourable manner which they have got dishonourably. So much with regard to their richès.

If we consider their behaviour in the administration, we shall not find in Nicias any instance of cunning, injustice, violence, or effrontery. On the contrary, he suffered Alcibiades to impose upon him, and

he was modest, or rather timid in his applications to the people. Whereas Crassus, in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again, if his interest required it, is justly accused of an illiberal duplicity. Nor could he deny that he used violence to attain the consulship, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the assembly that was held for the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded, and four citizens killed. Nay, Crassus himself struck a senator, named Lucius Annalius, who opposed his measures, upon the face with his fist (a circumstance which escaped us in his Life), and drove him out of the forum covered with blood.

But if Crassus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too timid. His poltroonery and mean submission to the most abandoned persons in the state deserve the greatest reproach. Besides, Crassus showed some magnanimity and dignity of sentiment, in contending, not with such wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Cæsar, and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he maintained the dispute well with them for power, and in the high honour of the censorship, he was even beyond Pompey. For he who wants to stand at the helm should not consider what may expose him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may by its lustre force envy to sneak behind. But if security and repose are to be consulted above all things ; if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the rostrum, of the Lacedæmonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace, then surely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford you a corner to retire to, where you may weave yourself the soft crown of tranquillity, as some of the philosophers express it. The love Nicias had for peace was indeed a divine attachment, and his endeavours, during



his whole administration, to put an end to the war, were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in so honourable a light, that Crassus could not have been compared with him, though he had made the Caspian sea or the Indian ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheless, in a commonwealth which retains any sentiments of virtue, he who has the lead should not give place for a moment to persons of no principle ; he should intrust no charge with those who want capacity, nor place any confidence in those who want honour. And Nicias certainly did this in raising Cleon to the command of the army ; a man who had nothing to recommend him but his impudence and his bawling in the rostrum. On the other hand, I do not commend Crassus for advancing to action, in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence ; though his ambition had this excuse, that he was afraid Pompey would come and snatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very absurd and mean spirited. He would not give up to his enemy the honour and trust of commander-in-chief while he could execute that charge with ease, and had good hopes of success ; but as soon as he saw it attended with great danger, he was willing to secure himself, though he exposed the public by it. It was not thus Themistocles behaved in the Persian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew must have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him for a sum of money to give up his pretensions. And Cato stood for the tribuneship when he saw it would involve him in the greatest trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias

was willing enough to be general, when he had only to go against Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians ; but if there was occasion to fight with the Lacedemonians, he put off his armour, and intrusted the ships, the men, the warlike stores, in short, the entire direction of a war which required the most consummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and rashness of Cleon ; in which he was not only unjust to himself and his own honour, but to the welfare and safety of his country. This made the Athenians send him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, against Syracuse. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of success, but a regard to his own ease and a want of spirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conquest of Sicily.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually against war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it as the ablest and best general they had. But Crassus, though he was for ever aiming at such a charge, never gained one, except in the war with the gladiators ; and that only because Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus's were absent. This is the more remarkable, because Crassus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But, it seems, his best friends thought him (as the comic poet expresses it)

In all trades skill'd except the trade of war.

However, this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little : his ambition never let them rest till they assigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias against his inclination ; and it was

against the inclination of the Romans that Crassus led them out. Crassus involved his country in misfortunes ; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheless, in this respect, it is easier to commend Nicias than to blame Crassus. The capacity and skill of the former as a general kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared, from the first, that Sicily could not be conquered : the latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war as an easy undertaking. In this he found himself sadly deceived : yet his aim was great. While Cæsar was subduing the west, the Gauls, the Germans, and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian ocean on the east, and to conquer all Asia ; things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the same designs, and made the same attempts with Crassus, their characters stood unimpeached both as to moderation and probity. If Crassus was opposed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was opposed by the senate when he got Asia for his province. And when Cæsar had routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato voted that he should be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace. But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thanksgiving to the gods, for fifteen days, and thought themselves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered sacrifices, if Crassus could have sent them an account from Babylon, that he was victorious ; and if he had proceeded from thence through

Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces. For, according to Euripides, if justice must be violated, and men cannot sit down quiet and contented with their present possessions, it should not be for taking the small town of Scandia, or razing such a castle as Mende ; nor yet for going in chase of the fugitive Egnitæ, who, like birds, have retired to another country : the price of injustice should be high ; so sacred a thing as right should not be invaded for a trifling consideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Crassus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, several of Nicias's are very considerable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuse. Nor were all his miscarriages so many errors ; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Crassus committed so many errors, that Fortune had no opportunity to show him any favour ; wherefore we need not so much wonder that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, as that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greatest attention to divination, and the other entirely disregarded it, and yet both perished alike, it is hard to say whether the observation of omens is a salutary thing or not. Nevertheless, to err on the side of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing than to err through obstinacy and presumption.

Crassus, however, was not so reproachable in his

exit ; he did not surrender himself or submit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes ; but in yielding to the instances of his friends he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injustice of the barbarians. Whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondness for life, put himself in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baser and more dishonourable end.

#### NUMA AND LYCURGUS COMPARED.

Having gone through the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, we must now endeavour (though it is no easy matter) to *contrast* their actions. The resemblances between them, however, are obvious enough ; their wisdom, for instance, their piety, their talents for government, the instruction of their people, and their deriving their laws from a divine source. But the chief of their peculiar distinctions was Numa's accepting a crown, and Lycurgus's relinquishing one. The former received a kingdom without seeking it ; the latter resigned one when he had it in possession. Numa was advanced to sovereign power when a private person and a stranger ; Lycurgus reduced himself from a king to a private person. It was an honour to the one to attain to royal dignity by his justice ; and it was an honour to the other to prefer justice to that dignity. Virtue rendered the one so respectable as to deserve a throne, and the other so great as to be above it.

The second observation is, that both managed their respective governments, as musicians do the lyre, each in a different manner. Lycurgus wound up the strings of Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, to a stronger tone : Numa softened the high and

harsh tone of Rome. The former had the more difficult task. For it was not their swords and breast-plates, which he persuaded his citizens to lay aside, but their gold and silver, their sumptuous beds and tables; what he taught them was not to devote their time to feasts and sacrifices, after quitting the rugged paths of war, but to leave entertainments and the pleasures of wine, for the laborious exercises of arms and the wrestling ring. Numa effected his purposes in a friendly way by the regard and veneration the people had for his person; Lycurgus had to struggle with conflicts and dangers, before he could establish his laws. The genius of Numa was more mild and gentle, softening and attempering the fiery dispositions of his people to justice and peace. If we be obliged to admit the sanguinary and unjust treatment of the Helotes, as a part of the politics of Lycurgus, we must allow Numa to have been far the more humane and equitable lawgiver, who permitted absolute slaves to taste of the honour of freemen, and in the *Saturnalia* to be entertained along with their masters. For this also they tell us was one of Numa's institutions, that persons in a state of servitude should be admitted, at least once a year, to the liberal enjoyment of those fruits which they had helped to raise. Some however pretend to find in this custom the vestiges of the equality which subsisted in the times of Saturn, when there was neither servant nor master, but all were upon the same footing, and, as it were, of one family.

Both appeared to have been equally studious to lead their people to temperance and sobriety. As to the other virtues, the one was more attached to fortitude, and the other to justice. Though possibly the



different nature and quality of their respective governments required a different process. For it was not through want of courage, but to guard against injustice, that Numa restrained his subjects from war : nor did Lycurgus endeavour to infuse a martial spirit into his people, with a view to encourage them to injure others, but to guard them against being injured by invasions. As each had the luxuriances of his citizens to prune, and their deficiencies to fill up, they must necessarily make very considerable alterations.

Numa's distribution of the people was indulgent and agreeable to the commonalty, as with him a various and mixed mass of goldsmiths, musicians, shoemakers, and other trades, composed the body of the city. But Lycurgus inclined to the nobility in modelling his state, and he proceeded in a severe and unpopular manner ; putting all mechanic arts into the hands of slaves and strangers, while the citizens were only taught how to manage the spear and shield. They were only artists in war, and servants of Mars, neither knowing nor desiring to know any thing but how to obey, command, and conquer their enemies. That the free men might be entirely and once for all free, he would not suffer them to give any attention to their circumstances, but that whole business was to be left to the slaves and Helotes, in the same manner as the dressing of their meat. Numa made no such distinction as this : he only put a stop to the gain of rapine. Not solicitous to prevent an inequality of substance, he forbade no other means of increasing the fortunes of his subjects, nor their rising to the greatest opulence ; neither did he guard against poverty, which at the same time made its way into, and spread in, the city. While there was no great disparity in the pos-

sessions of his citizens, but all were moderately provided, he should at first have combated the desire of gain ; and, like Lycurgus, have watched against its inconveniences ; for those were by no means inconsiderable, but such as gave birth to the many and great troubles that happened in the Roman state.

As to an equal division of lands, neither was Lycurgus to blame for making it, nor Numa for not making it. The equality which it caused afforded the former a firm foundation for his government ; and the latter finding a division already made, and probably as yet subsisting entire, had no occasion to make a new one.

With respect to the community of wives and children, each took a politic method to banish jealousy. A Roman husband, when he had a sufficient number of children, and was applied to by one that had none, might give up his wife to him, and was at liberty both to divorce her, and to take her again. But the Lacedæmonian, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage subsisted in its original force, allowed his friend, who desired to have children by her, the use of his bed : and (as we have already observed) many husbands invited to their houses such men as were likely to give them healthy and well made children. The difference between the two customs is this, that the Lacedæmonians appeared very easy and unconcerned about an affair that in other places causes so much disturbance, and consumes men's hearts with jealousy and sorrow ; whilst among the Romans there was a modesty, which veiled the matter with a new contract, and seemed to declare that a community in wedlock is intolerable.

Yet farther, Numa's strictness as to virgins tended

to form them to that modesty which is the ornament of their sex ; but the great liberty which Lycurgus gave them brought upon them the censure of the poets, particularly Ibicus : for they call them *Phænomerides*, and *Andromancis*. Euripides describes them in this manner :

These quit their homes, ambitious to display,  
Amidst the youths, their vigour in the race,  
Or feats of wrestling, whilst their airy robe  
Flies back, and leaves their limbs uncover'd.

The skirts of the habit which the virgins wore were not sewed to the bottom, but opened at the sides as they walked, and discovered the thigh : as Sophocles very plainly writes :

Still in the light dress struts the vain Hermione,  
Whose opening folds display the naked thigh.

Consequently their behaviour is said to have been too bold and too masculine, in particular to their husbands. For they considered themselves as absolute mistresses in their houses ; nay, they wanted a share in affairs of state, and delivered their sentiments with great freedom concerning the most weighty matters. But Numa, though he preserved entire to the matrons all the honour and respect that were paid them by their husbands in the time of Romulus, when they endeavoured by kindness to compensate for the rape, yet he obliged them to behave with great reserve, and to lay aside all impertinent curiosity. He taught them to be sober, and accustomed them to silence, entirely to abstain from wine, and not to speak even of the most necessary affairs except in the presence of their husbands. When a woman once appeared in the *forum*

to plead her own cause, it is reported that the senate ordered the oracle to be consulted, what this strange event portended to the city. Nay, what is recorded of a few infamous women is a proof of the obedience and meekness of the Roman matrons in general. For as our historians give us accounts of those who first carried war into the bowels of their country, or against their brothers, or were first guilty of parricide ; so the Romans relate, that Spurius Carvilius was the first among them that divorced his wife, when no such thing had happened before for two hundred and thirty years from the building of Rome\* ; and that Thalæa, the wife of Pinarius, was the first that quarrelled, having a dispute with her mother-in-law, Gegania, in the reign of Tarquin the proud. So well framed for the preserving of decency and a propriety of behaviour were this lawgiver's regulations with respect to marriage.

Agreeable to the education of virgins in Sparta, were the directions of Lycurgus as to the time of their being married. For he ordered them to be married when both their age and wishes led them to it ; that the company of a husband, which nature now required, might be the foundation of kindness and love, and not of fear and hatred, which would be the consequence when nature was forced ; and that their bodies might have strength to bear the troubles of breeding and the pangs of child-birth ; the propagation of children being looked upon as the only end of marriage. But the Romans married their daughters at the age of twelve years, or under ; that both their bodies and

\* It was in the 520th year of Rome that this happened.

manners might come pure and untainted into the management of their husbands. It appears then that the former institution more naturally tended to the procreation of children, and the latter to the forming of the manners for the matrimonial union.

However, in the education of the boys, in regulating their classes, and laying down the whole method of their exercises, their diversions, and their eating at a common table, Lycurgus stands distinguished, and leaves Numa only upon a level with ordinary law-givers. For Numa left it to the option or convenience of parents, to bring up their sons to agriculture, to ship-building, to the business of a brazier, or the art of a musician. As if it were not necessary for one design to run through the education of them all, and for each individual to have the same bias given him ; but, as if they were all like passengers in a ship, who coming each from a different employment, and with a different intent, stand upon their common defence in time of danger, merely out of fear for themselves or their property, and on other occasions are attentive only to their private ends. In such a case common legislators would have been excusable, who might have failed through ignorance or want of power ; but should not so wise a man as Numa, who took upon him the government of a state so lately formed, and not likely to make the least opposition to any thing he proposed, have considered it as his first care to give the children such a bent of education, and the youth such a mode of exercise, as would prevent any great difference or confusion in their manners, that so they might be formed from their infancy, and persuaded to walk together in the same paths of virtue ? Lycurgus found the utility of this in several respects,

and particularly in securing the continuance of his laws. For the oath the Spartans had taken would have availed but little, if the youth had not been already tinctured with his discipline, and trained to a zeal for his establishment. Nay, so strong and deep was the tincture, that the principal laws which he enacted continued in force for more than five hundred years. But the primary view of Numa's government, which was to settle the Romans in lasting peace and tranquillity, immediately vanished with him : and, after his death, the temple of Janus, which he had kept shut (as if he had really held war in prison and subjection) was set wide open, and Italy was filled with blood. The beautiful pile of justice which he had reared presently fell to the ground, being without the cement of education.

You will say then, was not Rome bettered by her wars ? A question this which wants a long answer, to satisfy such as place the happiness of a state in riches, luxury, and an extent of dominion, rather than in security, equity, temperance, and content. It may seem, however, to afford an argument in favour of Lycurgus, that the Romans, upon quitting the discipline of Numa, soon arrived at a much higher degree of power ; whereas the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they departed from the institutions of Lycurgus, from being the most respectable people of Greece, became the meanest, and were in danger of being absolutely destroyed. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged something truly great and divine in Numa, to be invited from another country to the throne ; to make so many alterations by means of persuasion only ; to reign undisturbed over a city not yet united in itself, without the use of an armed force (which Lycurgus



was obliged to have recourse to, when he availed himself of the aid of the nobility against the commons), and by his wisdom and justice alone to conciliate and combine all his subjects in peace.

#### THE DEATH OF OTHO.

An uncertain rumour, as it commonly happens, was first brought to Otho, and afterwards some of the wounded came and assured him that the battle was lost. On this occasion it was nothing extraordinary that his friends strove to encourage him and keep him from desponding ; but the attachment of the soldiers to him exceeds all belief. None of them left him, or went over to the enemy, or consulted his own safety, even when their chief despaired of his. On the contrary, they crowded his gates ; they called him emperor ; they left no form of application untried ; they kissed his hands, they fell at his feet, and with groans and tears entreated him not to forsake them, nor give them up to their enemies, but to employ their hearts and hands to the last moment of their lives. They all joined in this request ; and one of the private men, drawing his sword, thus addressed himself to Otho : “ Know, Cæsar, what your soldiers are ready to do for you,” and immediately plunged the steel into his heart.

Otho was not moved at this affecting scene ; but, with a cheerful and steady countenance, looking round upon the company, spoke as follows : “ This day, my fellow-soldiers, I consider as a more happy one than that on which you made me emperor, when I see you thus disposed, and am so great in your opinion. But deprive me not of a still greater happiness, that of laying down my life with honour for

so many generous Romans. If I am worthy of the Roman empire, I ought to shed my blood for my country. I know the victory my adversaries have gained is by no means decisive. I have intelligence that my army from Mysia is at the distance of but a few days' march ; Asia, Syria, and Egypt, are pouring their legions upon the Adriatic ; the forces in Judæa declare for us ; the senate is with us ; and the very wives and children of our enemies are so many pledges in our hands. But we are not fighting for Italy with Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbrians ; our dispute is with the Romans ; and whatever party prevails, whether we conquer or are conquered, our country must suffer. Under the victor's joy she bleeds. Believe, then, my friends, that I can die with greater glory than reign ; for I know no benefit that Rome can reap from my victory equal to what I shall confer upon her by sacrificing myself for peace and unanimity, and to prevent Italy from beholding such another day as this !”

After he had made this speech, and showed himself immovable to those who attempted to alter his resolution, he desired his friends and such senators as were present to leave him, and provide for their own safety. To those that were absent he sent the same commands, and signified his pleasure to the cities by letters, that they should receive them honourably, and supply them with good convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius, who was yet very young, and bade him compose himself, and not fear Vitellius. “I have taken the same care,” said he, “of his mother, his wife, and children, as if they had been my own. And for the same reason, I mean for your sake, I deferred the adoption which I in-

tended you ; for I thought proper to wait the issue of this war, that you might reign with me if I conquered, and not fall with me if I was overcome. The last thing, my son, I have to recommend to you is, neither entirely to forget, nor yet to remember too well, that you had an emperor for your uncle."

A moment after he heard a great noise and tumult at his gate. The soldiers seeing the senators retiring, threatened to kill them if they moved a step farther, or abandoned the emperor. Otho, in great concern for them, showed himself again at the door, but no longer with a mild and supplicating air ; on the contrary, he cast such a stern and angry look upon the most turbulent part of them, that they withdrew in great fear and confusion.

In the evening he was thirsty, and drank a little water. Then he had two swords brought him, and having examined the points of both a long time, he sent away the one, and put the other under his arm. After this he called his servants, and with many expressions of kindness gave them money. Not that he chose to be lavish of what would soon be another's, for he gave to some more, and to some less, proportioning his bounty to their merit, and paying a strict regard to propriety.

When he had dismissed them, he dedicated the remainder of the night to repose, and slept so sound, that his chamberlains heard him at the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who assisted him in the care of the senators, and ordered him to make the proper inquiries about them. The answer he brought was, that they were gone, and had been provided with every thing they desired. Upon which he said, " Go you, then, and show yourself to the

soldiers, that they may not imagine you have assisted me in despatching myself, and put you to some cruel death for it.”

As soon as the freedman was gone out, he fixed the hilt of his sword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands, fell upon it with so much force, that he expired with one groan. The servants who waited without heard the groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which was echoed through the camp and the city. The soldiers ran to the gates with the most pitiable wailings and most unfeigned grief, reproaching themselves for not guarding their emperor, and preventing his dying for them. Not one of them would leave him to provide for himself, though the enemy was approaching. They attired the body in a magnificent manner, and prepared a funeral pile; after which they attended the procession in their armour, and happy was the man that could come to support his bier. Some kneeled and kissed his wound, some grasped his hand, and others prostrated themselves on the ground, and adored him at a distance. Nay, there were some who threw their torches upon the pile, and then slew themselves. Not that they had received any extraordinary favours from the deceased, or were afraid of suffering under the hands of the conqueror; but it seems that no king or tyrant was ever so passionately fond of governing as they were of being governed by Otho. Nor did their affection cease with his death; it survived the grave, and terminated in the hatred and destruction of Vitellius.

## PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS COMPARED.

These are the particulars which we thought worth reciting from history concerning Marcellus and Pelopidas ; between whom there was a perfect resemblance in the gifts of nature, and in their lives and manners. For they were both men of heroic strength, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, and in courage and magnanimity they were equal. The sole difference is, that Marcellus, in most of the cities which he took by assault, committed great slaughter ; whereas Epaminondas and Pelopidas never spilt the blood of any man they had conquered, nor enslaved any city they had taken. And it is affirmed, that if they had been present, the Thebans would not have deprived the Orchomenians of their liberty.

As to their achievements, among those of Marcellus there was none greater or more illustrious than his beating such an army of Gauls, both horse and foot, with a handful of horse only, of which you will scarce meet with another instance, and his slaying their prince with his own hand. Pelopidas hoped to have done something of the like nature, but miscarried, and lost his life in the attempt. However, the great and glorious battles of Leuctra and Tegyrae may be compared with these exploits of Marcellus. And, on the other hand, there is nothing of Marcellus's effected by stratagem and surprise, which can be set against the happy management of Pelopidas, at his return from exile, in taking off the Theban tyrants. Indeed, of all the enterprises of the secret hand of art, that was the masterpiece.

If it be said that Hannibal was a formidable enemy to the Romans, the Lacedæmonians were certainly

the same to the Thebans. And yet it is agreed on all hands, that they were thoroughly beaten by Pelopidas, at Leuctra and Tegyraë ; whereas, according to Polybius, Hannibal was never once defeated by Marcellus, but continued invincible till he had to do with Scipio. However, we rather believe with Livy, Cæsar, and Cornelius Nepos, among the Latin historians, and with king Juba among the Greek, that Marcellus did sometimes beat Hannibal, and even put his troops to flight, though he gained no advantage of him sufficient to turn the balance considerably on his side : so that one might even think, that the Carthaginian then acted with the art of a wrestler, who sometimes suffers himself to be thrown. But what has been very justly admired in Marcellus is, that, after such great armies had been routed, so many generals slain, and the whole empire almost totally subverted, he found means to inspire his troops with courage enough to make head against the enemy. He was the only man that from a state of terror and dismay, in which they had long remained, raised the army to an eagerness for battle, and infused into them such a spirit, that, far from tamely giving up the victory, they disputed it with the greatest obstinacy. For those very men, who had been accustomed by a run of ill success to think themselves happy if they could escape Hannibal by flight, were taught by Marcellus to be ashamed of coming off with disadvantage, to blush at the very thought of giving way, and to be sensibly affected if they gained not the victory.

As Pelopidas never lost a battle in which he commanded in person, and Marcellus won more than any Roman of his time, he who performed so many exploits, and was so hard to conquer, may, perhaps, be



put on a level with the other, who was never beaten. On the other hand, it may be observed, that Marcellus took Syracuse, whereas Pelopidas failed in his attempt upon Sparta ; yet I think even to approach Sparta, and to be the first that ever passed the Eurotas in a hostile manner, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily ; unless it may be said, that the honour of this exploit, as well as that of Leuctra, belongs rather to Epaminondas than to Pelopidas, whereas the glory Marcellus gained was entirely his own. For he alone took Syracuse ; he defeated the Gauls without his colleague ; he made head against Hannibal, not only without the assistance, but against the remonstrances, of the other generals ; and, changing the face of war, he first taught the Romans to meet the enemy with a good countenance.

As for their deaths, I praise neither the one nor the other ; but it is with concern and indignation that I think of the strange circumstances that attended them. At the same time I admire Hannibal, who fought such a number of battles as it would be a labour to reckon, without ever receiving a wound : and I greatly approve the behaviour of Chrysantes, in the *Cyropædia*, who having his sword lifted up and ready to strike, upon hearing the trumpets sound a retreat, calmly and modestly retired without giving the stroke. Pelopidas, however, was somewhat excusable, because he was not only warmed with the heat of battle, but incited by a generous desire of revenge. And, as Euripides says,

The first of chiefs is he who laurels gains,  
And buys them not with life : the next is he  
Who dies, but dies in Virtue's arms——

In such a man, dying is a free and voluntary act, not a passive submission to fate. But beside his resentment, the end Pelopidas proposed to himself in conquering, which was the death of a tyrant, with reason animated him to uncommon efforts ; for it was not easy to find another cause so great and glorious wherein to exert himself. But Marcellus, without any urgent occasion, without the enthusiasm which often pushes men beyond the bounds of reason in time of danger, unadvisedly exposed himself, and died not like a general, but like a spy ; risking his five consulates, his three triumphs, his trophies and spoils of kings against a company of Spaniards and Numidians, who had bartered with the Carthaginians for their lives and services. An accident so strange, that those very adventurers could not forbear grudging themselves such success, when they found that a man the most distinguished of all the Romans for valour, as well as power and fame, had fallen by their hands, amidst a scouting party of Fregellanians.

Let not this, however, be deemed an accusation against these great men, but rather a complaint to them of injury done themselves, by sacrificing all their other virtues to their intrepidity, and a free expostulation with them for being so prodigal of their blood as to shed it for their own sakes, when it ought to have fallen only for their country, their friends, and their allies.

Pelopidas was buried by his friends, in whose cause he was slain, and Marcellus by those enemies that slew him. The first was a happy and desirable thing, but the other was greater and more extraordinary ; for gratitude in a friend for benefits received

is not equal to an enemy's admiring the virtue by which he suffers. In the first case there is more regard to interest than to merit ; in the latter, real worth is the sole object of the honour paid.

PERICLES AND FABIVS MAXIMVS COMPARED.

Such were the lives of these two persons, so illustrious and worthy of imitation both in their civil and military capacity. We shall first compare their talents for war. And here it strikes us at once, that Pericles came into power at a time when the Athenians were at the height of prosperity, great in themselves, and respectable to their neighbours : so that in the very strength of the republic, with only common success, he was secure from taking any disgraceful step. But as Fabius came to the helm when Rome experienced the worst and most mortifying turn of fortune, he had not to preserve the well established prosperity of a flourishing state, but to draw his country from an abyss of misery, and raise it to happiness. Besides, the successes of Cimon, the victories of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great achievements of Tolmides, rather furnished occasion to Pericles, during his administration, to entertain the city with feasts and games, than to make new acquisitions, or to defend the old ones by arms. On the other hand, Fabius had the frightful objects before his eyes of defeat and disgraces, of Roman consuls and generals slain, of lakes, fields, and forests full of the dead carcasses of whole armies, and of rivers flowing with blood down to the very sea. In this tottering and decayed condition of the commonwealth, he was to support it by his counsels and his

vigour, and to keep it from falling into absolute ruin, to which it was brought so near by the errors of former commanders.

It may seem, indeed, a less arduous performance to manage the tempers of a people humbled by calamities, and compelled by necessity to listen to reason, than to restrain the wildness and insolence of a city elated with success, and wanton with power, such as Athens was when Pericles held the reins of government. But then, undauntedly to keep to his first resolutions, and not to be discomposed by the vast weight of misfortunes with which Rome was then oppressed, discovers in Fabius an admirable firmness and dignity of mind.

Against the taking of Samos by Pericles, we may set the retaking of Tarentum by Fabius ; and with Eubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania. As for Capua, it was recovered afterwards by the consuls Furius and Appius. Fabius, indeed, gained but one set battle, for which he had his first triumph ; whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories won by land and sea. But none of the victories of Pericles can be compared with that memorable rescue of Minucius, by which Fabius redeemed him and his whole army from utter destruction : an action truly great, and in which you find at once the bright assemblage of valour, of prudence, and humanity. Nor can Pericles, on the other hand, be said ever to have committed such an error as that of Fabius, when he suffered himself to be imposed on by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen ; let his enemy slip in the night through those straits in which he had been entangled by accident, and where he could not possibly have forced his way out ; and as soon as it

was day saw himself repulsed by the man who so lately was at his mercy.

If it is the part of a good general, not only to make a proper use of the present, but also to form the best judgment of things to come, it must be allowed that Pericles both foresaw and foretold what success the Athenians would have in the war, namely, that they would ruin themselves by grasping at too much. But it was entirely against the opinion of Fabius, that the Romans sent Scipio into Africa, and yet they were victorious there ; not by the favour of fortune, but by the courage and conduct of their general. So that the misfortunes of his country bore witness to the sagacity of Pericles ; and from the glorious success of the Romans, it appeared that Fabius was utterly mistaken. And, indeed, it is an equal fault in a commander in chief, to lose an advantage through diffidence, as to fall into danger for want of foresight. For it is the same want of judgment and skill, that sometimes produces too much confidence, and sometimes leaves too little. Thus far concerning their abilities in war.

And if we consider them in their political capacity, we shall find that the greatest fault laid to the charge of Pericles was, that he caused the Peloponnesian war, through opposition to the Lacedæmonians, which made him unwilling to give up the least point to them. I do not suppose that Fabius Maximus would have given up any point to the Carthaginians, but that he would generously have run the last risk to maintain the dignity of Rome.

The mild and moderate behaviour of Fabius to Minucius sets in a very disadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles, in his implacable persecution of

Cimon and Thucydides, valuable men, and friends to the aristocracy, and yet banished by his practices and intrigues.

Besides, the power of Pericles was much greater than that of Fabius ; and therefore he did not suffer any misfortune to be brought upon Athens by the wrong measures of other generals. Tolmides only carried it against him for attacking the Bœotians, and in doing it, he was defeated and slain. All the rest adhered to his party, and submitted to his opinion, on account of his superior authority ; whereas Fabius, whose measures were salutary and safe, as far as they depended upon himself, appears only to have fallen short, by his inability to prevent the miscarriages of others. For the Romans would not have had so many misfortunes to deplore, if the power of Fabius had been as great in Rome, as that of Pericles in Athens.

As to their liberality and public spirit, Pericles showed it in refusing the sums that were offered him, and Fabius in ransoming his soldiers with his own money. This, indeed, was no great expense, being only about six talents\*. But it is not easy to say what a treasure Pericles might have amassed from the allies, and from kings who made their court to him, on account of his great authority ; yet no man ever kept himself more free from corruption.

As for the temples, the public edifices, and other works, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all the

\*Fabius was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas for each prisoner, and he ransomed two hundred and forty-seven ; which would stand him in sixty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty drachmas, that is more than ten talents.



structures of that kind in Rome put together, until the times of the Cæsars, deserved not to be compared with them, either in the greatness of the design, or the excellence of the execution.

#### PHILOSOPHY.

Though we ought not to permit an ingenious child to be without any sort of learning, no not of the most trivial arts, so far as it may be gotten from lectures of that nature, or from public shows ; yet I would have him to salute such only, as in his passage, taking a bare taste (seeing no man can possibly attain to perfection in all) of each of them ; but to give philosophy the pre-eminence of them all : as (to illustrate what I say with this similitude) men are desirous to see many cities for their pleasure, but choose, for their profit, to fix their dwelling in the best. Ingenious also (to this purpose) was the saying of Bias the philosopher, that as the wooers of Penelope, when they could not have their desire of the mistress, contented themselves to have to do with her maidens ; so, commonly, those students who are not capable of understanding philosophy spend their time in the study of those sciences that are of no value. Whence it follows, that we ought to make philosophy the chief of all our learning. For though, in order to the welfare of the body, the industry of men hath found out two arts, that of medicine, which assists to the recovery of lost health, and that which teaches exercises of activity, and thus helps us to attain a sound constitution ; yet there is but one sole art capable of curing the distempers and diseases of the mind, and that is philosophy. For by the advice and assistance thereof it is that we come to under-

stand what is honest, and what dishonest ; what is just, and what is unjust : in a word, what we are to desire, and what to avoid. We learn how we are to demean ourselves towards the gods, towards our parents, our elders, the laws, strangers, governors, friends, wives, children, and servants. That is, to worship the gods, to honour our parents, to reverence our elders, to be subject to the laws, to obey our governors, to love our friends, to use sobriety towards our wives, to be affectionate to our children, and not insolently to injure our servants ; and (which is the chiefest lesson of all) not to be everjoyed in prosperity, nor too much dejected in adversity ; not to be dissolute in our pleasures, nor in our anger to be transported with brutish rage and fury. These things I account the principal advantages which we gain by philosophy. For to use prosperity generously is the part of a man ; to manage it so as to decline envy, of a well-governed man ; to master our pleasures by reason is the property of wise men ; and to moderate anger is the attainment only of extraordinary men. But those, of all men, I count most complete, who know how to mix and temper the managing of civil affairs with philosophy ; seeing they are thereby masters of two of the greatest good things that are, the promoting public felicity by governing well, and the enjoying a calm tranquillity in their own bosoms, by improving philosophical principles. For whereas there are three sorts of lives (or rather ways of living), the active, the contemplative, and the fruitive ; he that lives the last of these is a dissolute slave to his pleasures, a brutish and low spirited man ; he that spends his time in contemplation, without action, is an unprofitable man ; and he that lives in action, and is

destitute of philosophy, is a rustical man, and commits many absurdities. Wherefore we are to apply our utmost endeavour to enable ourselves for both ; that is, to manage public employments, and withal, at convenient seasons, to give ourselves to philosophical studies.

#### THE DEATH OF PHOCION.

The guards then surrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who, being at some distance, muffled themselves up, and fled. Clitus carried the prisoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as persons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing made it a more melancholy scene. The prisoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus shut them up till the archons had assembled the people. From this assembly neither slaves, nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatized as infamous, were excluded ; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read ; the purport of which was, "That he had found the prisoners guilty of treason ; but that he left it to the Athenians, as freemen, who were to be governed by their own laws, to pass sentence upon them."

At the same time Clitus presented them to the people. The best of the citizens, when they saw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and, covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to say, "Since the king leaves the determination of so important a matter to the people, it would be proper to command all slaves and strangers to depart." But the populace, instead

of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to stone all the favourers of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which, no one attempted to offer any thing in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permission to speak. At last, silence being made, he said, "Do you design to take away my life justly or unjustly?" Some of them answering, "Justly;" he said, "How can you know whether it will be justly, if you do not hear me first?" As he did not find them inclinable in the least to hear him, he advanced some paces forward, and said, "Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge I have done you injustice; and for my faults in the administration, adjudge myself guilty of death\*; but why will you put these men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made answer, "Because they are friends to you." Upon which he drew back, and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare by their suffrages whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not; and if they appeared so, they were to suffer death. When the decree was read, some called for an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution; and insisted, that the rack and its managers should be sent for immediately. But Agnonides, observing that Clitus was displeased

\* It was the custom for the person accused to lay some penalty on himself. Phocion chooses the highest, thinking it might be a means to reconcile the Athenians to his friends, but it had not that effect.

at that proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said, "When we take that villain Callimedon, let us put him to the torture ; but, indeed, my fellow-citizens, I cannot consent that Phocion should have such hard measure." Upon this, one of the better disposed Athenians cried out, "Thou art certainly right ; for if we torture Phocion, what must we do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the sentence of death was proposed : all the people gave their voices standing ; and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion, there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others, who were absent, the same sentence was passed upon them.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were sent to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears ; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the same as when the people sent him out to command their armies ; and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along ; and one of them even spit in his face : upon which he turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will nobody correct this fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the executioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to suffer unjustly on Phocion's account. "What then !" said the venerable sage, "dost thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him whether he had any com-

hands to his son ; “ Yes,” said he, “ by all means, tell him from me, to forget the ill treatment I have had from the Athenians.” And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poison before him ; “ This,” said he, “ Nicocles, is a hard request ; and the thing must give me great uneasiness ; but since I have obliged you in every instance through life, I will do the same in this.”

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not sufficient ; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve drachmas paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said, “ Since one cannot die on free cost at Athens, give the man his money.” This execution was on the nineteenth day of April, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads ; others shed tears, as they looked at the prison doors ; all who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a most impious thing, not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so to have kept the city unpolluted on the festival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica ; nor that any Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile. Therefore no friend durst touch it ; but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money, carried the corpse out of the territories of Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who



happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a cenotaph upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time she thus addressed the domestic gods : “ Ye guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains of this good man. Do you restore them to the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall once more listen to the dictates of wisdom.”

## POPULARITY.

It is not without appearance of probability that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their embrace : the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue ; and, governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and all the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine ; the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks,

—These are our subjects, yet we serve them,  
And listen to their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those great statesmen who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves, to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship those at the oar can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders ; so they who take their mea-

asures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called governors indeed, but, in fact, are no more than slaves of the people.

The complete, the honest statesman, has no farther regard to the public opinion than as the confidence it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himself upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophrastus says, when they first begin to grow in persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterwards increase in proportion as the love of glory increases. But an immoderate passion for fame, in all affairs, is dangerous, and in political matters destructive : for, joined to great authority, this passion drives all that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be also good and honest. Therefore, as Phocion said to Antipater when he desired something of him inconsistent with justice, “ You cannot have Phocion for your friend and flatterer too ;” this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude ; “ You cannot have the same man both for your governor and your slave :” for that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the serpent. The tail, it seems, one day quarrelled with the head, and, instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in its turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itself in a terrible manner : and the head, which was thus obliged, against nature, to follow a guide that could neither see nor hear, suffered likewise in its turn.

We see many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce such disorders as they can neither redress nor restrain.

#### PUNISHING IN ANGER.

As Phocion, after the death of Alexander, to hinder the Athenians from rising too soon, or believing it too hastily, said, "O Athenians, if he be dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow, and on the next day after that;" in like manner do I judge one ought to suggest to himself, who through anger is making haste to punish, "if it be true to-day that he hath thus wronged thee, it will be true to-morrow, and on the next day also." Nor will there any inconvenience follow, upon the deferring of his punishment for awhile; but if he be punished all in haste, he will ever after seem to have been innocent, as it hath oftentimes fallen out heretofore. For which of us all is so cruel as to torment or scourge a servant, because five or ten days before, he burnt the meat, or overturned the table, or did not soon enough what he was bidden? And yet truly it is for such things as these, while they are fresh and newly done, that we are so disordered, becoming cruel and implacable; for as bodies through a mist, so actions through anger, seem greater than they are. Wherefore we ought speedily to recal such considerations as these are to our mind; and being unquestionably out of passion, if then, to a pure and composed reason, the deed do appear to be wicked, we ought to animadvert, and not defer any longer, nor forbear to punish it, as those do to eat their food, who have lost their appetite. For there is nothing to which we can

more justly impute men punishing others in their anger, than to their not punishing them, when their anger is over, but growing remiss, and doing like lazy mariners, who in fair weather keep loitering within the haven, and then, when the wind blows strong, put to sea, though not without evident danger ; for we likewise, condemning the remissness and over calmness of our reason in punishing, make haste to do it, while our anger is up, and pushes us forward like a dangerous wind.

He that useth food doth it to gratify his hunger, which is natural ; but he that inflicts punishment should do it without either hungering or thirsting after it, not needing anger, like sauce, to quicken, or whet him on to punish ; but when he is farthest off from desiring it, bringing his reason to do it as a thing most necessary.

#### NOBLE PURSUITS.

When Cæsar happened to see some strangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked, “ Whether the women in their country never bore any children ? ” thus reproofing with a proper severity those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness which is due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in the human soul upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses, indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive : but the mind, possessed of a self-directing power, may turn its attention to what-

ever it thinks proper. It should, therefore, be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties. For as that colour is best suited to the eye, which by its beauty and agreeableness at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight, so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects, which through the channel of pleasure may lead us to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these inspires us with emulation, and a strong desire to imitate them ; whereas in other things, admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire ; but, on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antisthenes\*, therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered properly enough, " Then he is good for nothing else ; otherwise he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang in a very agreeable and skilful manner, " Are not you ashamed to sing so well ?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing, and he does the muses sufficient honour, if he attends the performances of those who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanical employments, his industry in those things is a proof

\* Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics.

of his inattention to nobler studies. No young man of noble birth or liberal sentiments, from seeing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or from the sight of the Juno at Argos, to be Polycletus ; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilocus, though delighted with their poems\*. For though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude, that things of this kind which excite not a spirit of emulation, nor produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that at the same time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise : the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power ; it kindles in us at once an active principle ; it forms our manners, and influences our desires, not only when represented in a living example, but even in an historical description.

\* This (Dr. Langhorne justly observes), seems to be somewhat inconsistent with that respect and esteem, in which the noble arts of poetry and sculpture were held in ancient Greece and Rome, and with that admiration which the proficients in those arts always obtain among the people. But there was still a kind of jealousy between the poets and philosophers, and our philosophical biographer shows pretty clearly by the Platonic parade of this introduction, that he would magnify the latter at the expense of the former.



## RETIREMENT.

If you will needs seclude us from all knowledge and acquaintance with the world (as men do light from their entertainments and drinking bouts, for which they set the night apart), let it be only such who make it the whole business of life to heap pleasure upon pleasure ; let such live recluses all their days. Were I, in truth, to wanton away my days in the arms of your miss, Hedia, or spend them with Leontion, another darling of yours ; were I to bid defiance to virtue, or to place all that is good in the gratification of the flesh, or the ticklings of a sensual pleasure, these accursed actions and rights would need darkness and an eternal night to veil them ; and may they ever be doomed to oblivion and obscurity. But what should they hide their heads for, who, with regard to works of nature, own and magnify a God, who celebrate his justice and providence, who in point of morality are due observers of the law, promoters of society and community among men, lovers of the public weal, and in the administration thereof prefer the common good before private advantage ? For what should such men cloister up themselves, and live recluses from the world ? Would you have them out of the way, for fear that they should teach others to be good too ? For fear they should set a good example, and allure others to virtue out of emulation of the precedent ? If the valour of Themistocles had been unknown at Athens, Greece had never given Xerxes that repulse : had not Camillus shown himself in defence of the Romans, their city Rome had no longer stood : Sicily had not recovered her liberty, had Plato

been a stranger to Dion. Truly, in my mind, to be known to the world, under some eminent character, not only carries a reputation with it, but makes the virtues in us become practical, like light, which renders us not only visible but useful to others. Epaminondas, during the first forty years of his life, in which no notice was taken of him, was an useless citizen to Thebes ; but afterwards, when he had once gained credit and the government amongst them, he both rescued the city from present destruction, and freed even Greece herself from imminent slavery, exhibiting (like light, which is in its own nature glorious, and to others beneficial at the same time), a valour seasonably active and serviceable to his country, yet interwoven with his own laurels : For

Virtue, like finest brass, by use grows bright.

And not our houses alone, when (as Sophocles has it) they stand long untenanted, run the faster to ruin, but men's natural parts lying unemployed for lack of acquaintance with the world, contract a kind of filth or rust and craziness thereby. For sottish ease, and a life wholly sedentary and given up to idleness, spoils and debilitates, not only the body but the soul too. And as close waters shadowed over by bordering trees, and stagnated, in default of springs to supply current and motion to them, become foul and corrupt ; so methinks the innate faculties and powers of a dull unstirring soul, whatever usefulness, whatever seeds of good she may have latent in her, yet when she puts not those powers into action, when once they stagnate, they lose their vigour and run to decay. See you not how, on night's approach, a sluggish drowsiness oft-times seizes the body, and sloth and inactiveness

surprise the soul, and she finds herself heavy and quite unfit for action? Have you not then observed how a man's reason (like fire, scarce visible, and just going out), retires into itself, and what with inactivity and dulness, every little flitting object so shatters and endangers the extinguishing it, that there remain but some obscure indications that the man is alive?

But when the orient sun brings back the day,  
It chases night and dreary sleep away.

He doth, as it were, bring the world together again, and with his returned light calls up and excites all mankind to thought and action; and, as Democritus tells us, men setting themselves, every new-spring day, to endeavour of mutual beneficence and service one towards another, as if they were fastened in the straitest tie together, do all of them, some from one, some from another, quarter of the world, rouse up and awake to action. For my own part, I am fully persuaded, that life itself, and our being born at the rate we are, and the origin we share in common, with all mankind, were vouchsafed us by God, to the intent we should be known to one another.

#### ROMULUS AND THESEUS COMPARED.

This is all that I have met with that deserves to be related concerning Romulus and Theseus. And to come to the comparison; first it appears, that Theseus was inclined to great enterprises, by his own proper choice, and compelled by no necessity, since he might have reigned in peace at Trœzene, over a kingdom by no means contemptible, which would have fallen to him by succession: whereas Romulus, in order to avoid present slavery and impending punishment,

became valiant, as Plato expresses it, through fear, and was driven by the terror of extreme sufferings to arduous attempts. Besides, the greatest action of Romulus was the killing of one tyrant in Alba. But the first exploits of Theseus, performed occasionally, and by way of prelude only, were those of destroying Sciron, Sinnis, Procustes, and the club-bearer ; by whose punishment and death he delivered Greece from several cruel tyrants, before they, for whose preservation he was labouring, knew him. Moreover, he might have gone safely to Athens by sea, without any danger from robbers ; but Romulus could have no security while Amulius lived. This difference is evident. Theseus, when unmolested himself, went forth to rescue others from their oppressors. On the other hand, Romulus and his brother, while they were uninjured by the tyrant themselves, quietly suffered him to exercise his cruelties. And, if it was a great thing for Romulus to be wounded in the battle with the Sabines, to kill Acron, and to conquer many other enemies, we may set against these distinctions the battle with the Centaurs, and the war with the Amazons.

But as to Theseus's enterprize with respect to the Cretan tribute, when he voluntarily offered to go among the young men and virgins, whether he was to expect to be food for some wild beast, or to be sacrificed at Androgeus's tomb, or, which is the lightest of all the evils said to be prepared for him, to submit to a vile and dishonourable slavery, it is not easy to express his courage and magnanimity, his regard for justice and the public good, and his love of glory and of virtue. On this occasion, it appears to me, that the philosophers have not ill defined love to be a rem-

edy provided by the gods for the safety and preservation of youth. For Ariadne's love seems to have been the work of some god, who designed by that means to preserve this great man. Nor should we blame her for her passion, but rather wonder that all were not alike affected towards him. And if she alone was sensible of that tenderness, I may justly pronounce her worthy the love of a god, as she showed so great a regard for virtue and excellence in her attachment to so worthy a man.

Both Theseus and Romulus were born with political talents ; yet neither of them preserved the proper character of a king, but deviated from the due medium, the one erring on the side of democracy, the other on that of absolute power, according to their different tempers. For a prince's first concern is to preserve the government itself ; and this is effected no less by avoiding whatever is improper, than by cultivating what is suitable to his dignity. He who gives up, or extends his authority, continues not a prince or a king, but degenerates into a republican or a tyrant, and thus incurs either the hatred or contempt of his subjects. The former seems to be the error of a mild and humane disposition, the latter of self-love and severity.

If, then, the calamities of mankind are not to be entirely attributed to fortune, but we are to seek the cause in their different manners and passions, here we shall find, that unreasonable anger, with quick and unadvised resentment, is to be imputed both to Romulus, in the case of his brother, and to Theseus in that of his son. But, if we consider whence their anger took its rise, the latter seems the more excusable, from the greater cause he had for resentment,

as yielding to the heavier blow. For, as the dispute began when Romulus was in cool consultation for the common good, one would think he could not presently have given way to such a passion. Whereas Theseus was urged against his son by emotions which few men have been able to withstand, proceeding from love, jealousy, and the false suggestions of his wife. What is more, the anger of Romulus discharged itself in an action of most unfortunate consequence ; but that of Theseus proceeded no further than words, reproaches, and imprecations, the usual revenge of old men. The rest of the young man's misery seems to have been owing to fortune. Thus far, Theseus seems to deserve the preference.

But Romulus has, in the first place, this great advantage, that he rose to distinction from very small beginnings. For the two brothers were reputed slaves and sons of herdsmen ; and yet, before they attained to liberty themselves, they bestowed it on almost all the Latins ; gaining at once the most glorious titles, as destroyers of their enemies, deliverers of their kindred, kings of nations, and founders of cities, not transplanters, as Theseus was, who filled, indeed, one city with people, but it was by ruining many others, which bore the names of ancient kings and heroes. And Romulus afterwards effected the same when he compelled his enemies to demolish their habitations, and incorporate with their conquerors. He had not, however, a city ready built, to enlarge, or to transplant inhabitants to from other towns, but he created one, gaining to himself lands, a country, a kingdom, children, wives, alliances ; and this without destroying or ruining any one. On the contrary, he was a great benefactor to persons who, having neither



house nor habitation, willingly became his citizens and people. He did not, indeed, like Theseus, destroy robbers and ruffians, but he subdued nations, took cities, and triumphed over kings and generals.

As for the fate of Remus, it is doubtful by what hand he fell ; most writers ascribing it to others, and not to Romulus. But, in the face of all the world, he saved his mother from destruction, and placed his grandfather, who lived in mean and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Æneas : moreover, he voluntarily did him many kind offices, but never injured him, not even inadvertently. On the other hand, I think Theseus, in forgetting or neglecting the command about the sail, can scarcely, by any excuses, or before the mildest judges, avoid the imputation of parricide. Sensible how difficult the defence of this affair would be to those who should attempt it, a certain Athenian writer feigns, that when the ship approached, Ægeus ran in great haste to the citadel for the better view of it, and missing his step, fell down ; as if he were destitute of servants, or went, in whatever hurry, unattended to the sea.

Moreover, Theseus's rapes and offences, with respect to women, admit of no plausible excuse ; because, in the first place, they were committed often : for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the Trœzenian ; after the rest, Helen ; though she was a girl not yet come to maturity, and he so far advanced in years, that it was time for him to think no more even of lawful marriage. The next aggravation is the cause ; for the daughters of the Trœzenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Amazons, were not more fit to bring children than those of the Athenians sprung from Erechtheus and Cecrops. These things, there-

fore, are liable to the suspicion of a wanton and licentious appetite. On the other hand, Romulus, having carried off at once almost eight hundred women, did not take them all, but only Hersilia, as it is said, for himself, and distributed the rest among the most respectable citizens. And afterwards, by the honourable and affectionate treatment he procured for them, he turned that injury and violence into a glorious exploit, performed with a political view to the good of society. Thus he united and cemented the two nations together, and opened a source of future kindness, and of additional power. Time bears witness to the conjugal modesty, tenderness, and fidelity, which he established ; for during two hundred and thirty years, no man attempted to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband\*. And, as the very curious among the Greeks can tell you who was the first person that killed his father and mother, so all the Romans know that Spurius Carvilius was the first that divorced his wife, alleging her barrenness. The immediate effects, as well as length of time, attest what I have said. For the two kings shared the kingdom, and the two nations came under the same government, by means of these alliances. But the marriages of Theseus procured the Athenians no friendship with any other state ; on the contrary, enmity, wars, the destruction of their citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnæ ; which, only through the compassion of the enemy, whom the inhabitants supplicated and honoured like

\* These numbers are wrong ; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus marks the time with great exactness, acquainting us, that it was five hundred and twenty years after the building of Rome.

gods, escaped the fate that befel Troy by means of Paris. However, the mother of Theseus, deserted and given up by her son, was not only in danger of, but really did suffer, the misfortunes of Hecuba, if her captivity be not a fiction, as a great deal besides may very well be. As to the stories we have concerning both, of a supernatural kind, the difference is great. For Romulus was preserved by the signal favour of heaven : but as the oracle which commanded *Ægeus* not to approach any woman in a foreign country was not observed, the birth of Theseus appears to have been unacceptable to the gods.

#### SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED.

These are the most remarkable particulars which history has given us concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the comparison. We observe first, that, though they were both strangers, aliens, and exiles, they had, to the end of their days, the command of many warlike nations, and great and respectable armies. Sertorius, indeed, has this advantage, that his fellow-warriors ever freely gave up the command to him on account of his superior merit ; whereas many disputed the post of honour with Eumenes, and it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head ; but those who acted under Eumenes never had recourse to him, till experience had showed them their own incapacity, and the necessity of employing another.

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Lusitanians, who for many years had been subject to Rome ; the other was a Chersonesian, and commanded the Macedonians, who had conquered the

whole world. It should be considered too, that Sertorius the more easily made his way, because he was a senator, and had led armies before ; but Eumenes, with the disreputation of having been only a secretary, raised himself to the first military employments. Nor had Eumenes only fewer advantages, but greater impediments also in the road to honour. Numbers opposed him openly, and as many formed private designs against his life : whereas no man ever opposed Sertorius in public, and it was not till towards the last, that a few of his party entered upon a private scheme to destroy him. The dangers of Sertorius were generally over when he had gained a victory ; and the dangers of Eumenes grew out of his very victories, among those who envied his success.

Their military performances were equal and similar, but their dispositions were very different. Eumenes loved war, and had a native spirit of contention ; Sertorius loved peace and tranquillity. The former might have lived in great security and honour, if he would not have stood in the way of the great ; but he rather chose to tread for ever in the uneasy paths of power, though he had to fight every step he took ; the latter would gladly have withdrawn from the tumult of public affairs ; but was forced to continue the war, to defend himself against his restless persecutors. For Antigonus would have taken pleasure in employing Eumenes, if he would have given up the dispute for superiority, and been content with the station next to his ; whereas Pompey would not grant Sertorius his request to live a private citizen. Hence, the one voluntarily engaged in war, for the sake of gaining the chief command ; the other involuntarily took the command, because he could not live in peace. Eumenes,

therefore, in his passion for the camp, preferred ambition to safety ; Sertorius was an able warrior, but employed his talents only for the safety of his person. The one was not apprised of his impending fate ; the other expected his every moment. The one had the candid praise of confidence in his friends ; the other incurred the censure of weakness ; for he would have fled, but could not. The death of Sertorius did no dishonour to his life ; he suffered that from his fellow-soldiers which the enemy could not have effected. Eumenes could not avoid his chains, yet after the indignity of chains, he wanted to live ; so that he could neither escape death, nor meet it as he ought to have done ; but, by having recourse to mean applications and entreaties, put his mind in the power of the man who was only master of his body.

#### SERTORIUS'S LESSON TO HIS TROOPS.

The event answered his expectation. They fought and were beaten ; but making up with succours, he rallied the fugitives, and conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was to rouse them up out of their despondence. For which purpose, a few days after, he assembled all his forces, and produced two horses before them ; the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse stood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given, the strong man began to pull and drag about the weak horse by the tail, as if he would pull it off ; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horse's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time to the great diversion of the

spectators, and at last was forced to give up the point ; the latter, without any difficulty, soon stripped the great horse's tail of all its hair. Then Sertorius rose up and said, " You see, my friends and fellow-soldiers, how much greater are the effects of perseverance than those of force, and that there are many things invincible in their collective capacity and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By this means, time attacks and destroys the strongest things upon earth. Time, I say, who is the best friend and ally to those that have the discernment to use it properly, and watch the opportunities it presents, and the worst enemy to those who will be rushing into action when it does not call them." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied to the senses of the barbarians, and instructed them to wait for proper junctures and occasions.

#### SOLON AND PUBLICOLA COMPARED.

There is something singular in this parallel, and what has not occurred to us in any other of the lives we have written, that Publicola should exemplify the maxims of Solon, and that Solon should proclaim before-hand the happiness of Publicola. For the definition of happiness which Solon gave Cræsus is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. It is true, he pronounces Tellus happy, on account of his virtue, his valuable children, and glorious death ; yet he mentions him not in his poems as eminently distinguished by his virtue, his children, or his employments. For Publicola, in his lifetime, attained the highest reputation and authority among the Romans, by means of his virtues ; and after his death his family



was reckoned among the most honourable ; the houses of the Publicolæ, the Messalæ, and Valerii, illustrious for the space of six hundred years, still acknowledging him as the fountain of their honour. Tellus, like a brave man, keeping his post, and fighting till the last, fell by the enemy's hand ; whereas Publicola, after having slain his enemies (a much happier circumstance than to be slain by them), after seeing his country victorious through his conduct as consul and as general, after triumphs and all other marks of honour, died that death which Solon had so passionately wished for, and declared so happy. Solon, again, in his answer to Mimnermus, concerning the period of human life, thus exclaims ;

Let friendship's faithful heart attend my bier,  
Heave the sad sigh, and drop the pitying tear !

And Publicola had this felicity. For he was lamented, not only by his friends and relations, but by the whole city ; thousands attended his funeral with tears, with regret, with the deepest sorrow ; and the Roman matrons mourned for him as for the loss of a son, a brother, or a common parent.

Another wish of Solon's is thus expressed :

The flow of riches, though desired,  
Life's real goods if well acquired,  
Unjustly let me never gain,  
Lest vengeance follow in their train.

And Publicola not only acquired, but employed his riches honourably, for he was a generous benefactor to the poor : so that if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the happiest of human kind. What the former had wished for as the greatest and most desir-

able of blessings, the latter actually possessed, and continued to enjoy.

Thus Solon did honour to Publicola, and he to Solon in his turn. For he considered him as the most excellent pattern that could be proposed, in regulating a democracy ; and, like him, laying aside the pride of power, he rendered it gentle and acceptable to all. He also made use of several of Solon's laws ; for he empowered the people to elect their own magistrates, and left an appeal to them from the sentence of other courts, as the Athenian law-giver had done. He did not, indeed, with Solon, create a new senate, but he almost doubled the number of that which he found in being.

His reason for appointing *quæstors* or *treasurers* was, that if the consul was a worthy man, he might have leisure to attend to greater affairs ; if unworthy, that he might not have greater opportunities of injustice, when both the government and treasury were under his direction.

Publicola's aversion to tyrants was stronger than that of Solon. For the latter made every attempt to set up arbitrary power punishable by law ; but the former made it death without the formality of trial. Solon, indeed, justly and reasonably plumes himself upon refusing absolute power, when both the state of affairs and the inclinations of the people would have readily admitted it ; and yet it was no less glorious for Publicola, when, finding the consular authority too despotic, he rendered it milder and more popular, and did not stretch it so far as he might have done. That this was the best method of governing, Solon seems to have been sensible before him, when he says of a republic :

The reins nor strictly nor too loosely hold,  
And safe the car of slippery power you guide.

But the annulling of debts was peculiar to Solon, and indeed was the most effectual way to support the liberty of the people. For laws intended to establish an equality would be of no avail, while the poor were deprived of the benefit of that equality by their debts. Where they seemed most to exercise their liberty, in offices, in debates, and in deciding causes, there they were most enslaved to the rich, and entirely under their control. What is more considerable in this case is, that though the cancelling of debts generally produces seditions, Solon seasonably applied it as a strong, though hazardous medicine, to remove the sedition then existing. The measure, too, lost its infamous and obnoxious nature, when made use of by a man of Solon's probity and character.

If we consider the whole administration of each, Solon's was more illustrious at first. He was an original, and followed no example ; besides, by himself, without a colleague, he effected many great things for the public advantage. But Publicola's fortune was more to be admired at last. For Solon lived to see his own establishment overturned ; whereas that of Publicola preserved the state in good order to the time of the civil wars. And no wonder ; since the former, as soon as he had enacted his laws, left them inscribed on tables of wood, without any one to support their authority, and departed from Athens ; whilst the latter, remaining at Rome, and continuing in the magistracy, thoroughly established and secured the commonwealth.

Solon was sensible of the ambitious designs of

Pisistratus, and desirous to prevent their being put in execution ; but he miscarried in the attempt, and saw a tyrant set up. On the other hand, Publicola demolished kingly power, when it had been established for some ages, and was at a formidable height. He was equalled by Solon in virtue and patriotism, but he had power and good fortune to second his virtue, which the other wanted.

As to warlike exploits, there is a considerable difference ; for Daimachus *Plataënsis* does not even attribute that enterprise against the Megarensians to Solon, as we have done ; whereas Publicola, in many great battles, performed the duty both of a general and a private soldier.

Again : if we compare their conduct in civil affairs, we shall find that Solon, only acting a part, as it were, and under the form of a maniac, went out to speak concerning the recovery of Salamis. But Publicola, in the face of the greatest danger, rose up against Tarquin, detected the plot, prevented the escape of the vile conspirators, had them punished, and not only excluded the tyrants from the city, but cut up their hopes by the roots. If he was thus vigorous in prosecuting affairs that required spirit, resolution, and open force, he was still more successful in negotiation, and the gentle arts of persuasion ; for by his address he gained Porsena, whose power was so formidable, that he could not be quelled by dint of arms, and made him a friend to Rome.

But here perhaps some will object, that Solon recovered Salamis when the Athenians had given it up ; whereas Publicola surrendered lands that the Romans were in possession of. Our judgment of actions, however, should be formed according to the respective

times and postures of affairs. An able politician, to manage all for the best, varies his conduct as the present occasion requires ; often quits a part, to save the whole ; and, by yielding in small matters, secures considerable advantages. Thus Publicola, by giving up what the Romans had lately usurped, saved all that was really their own ; and, at a time when they found it difficult to defend their city, gained for them the possession of the besiegers' camp. In effect, by referring his cause to the arbitration of the enemy, he gained his point, and, with that, all the advantages he could have proposed to himself by a victory. For Porsena put an end to the war, and left the Romans all the provisions he had made for carrying it on, induced by that impression of their virtue and honour which he had received from Publicola.

#### SPARTAN REPARTEES.

The boys were also taught to use sharp repartee, seasoned with humour, and whatever they said was to be concise and pithy. For Lycurgus, as we have observed, fixed but a small value on a considerable quantity of his iron money ; but, on the contrary, the worth of speech was to consist in its being comprised in a few plain words, pregnant with a great deal of sense : and he contrived that by long silence they might learn to be sententious and acute in their replies. As debauchery often causes weakness and sterility in the body, so the intemperance of the tongue makes conversation empty and insipid. King Agis, therefore, when a certain Athenian laughed at the Lacedæmonian short swords, and said, "The jugglers would swallow them with ease upon the stage," answered in his laconic way, "And yet

we can reach our enemies' hearts with them." Indeed, to me there seems to be something in this concise manner of speaking which immediately reaches the object aimed at, and forcibly strikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himself was short and sententious in his discourse, if we may judge by some of his answers which are recorded ; that, for instance, concerning the constitution. When one advised him to establish a popular government in Lacedæmon, "Go," said he, "and first make a trial of it in thy own family. That again, concerning sacrifices to the Deity, when he was asked why he appointed them so trifling and of so little value, "That we might never be in want," said he, "of something to offer him." Once more, when they inquired of him what sort of martial exercises he allowed of, he answered, "All, except those in which you stretch\* out your hands." Several such like replies of his are said to be taken from the letters which he wrote to his countrymen : as to their question, "How shall we best guard against the invasion of an enemy?" "By continuing poor, and not desiring in your possessions to be one above another." And to the question, whether they should enclose Sparta with walls, "That city is well fortified, which has a wall of men instead of brick." Whether these and some other letters ascribed to him are genuine or not, is no easy matter to determine. However, that they hated long speeches, the following apophthegms are a farther proof. King Leonidas said to one who discoursed at an improper time about affairs of some concern, "My friend, you

m                      m                      n                      m

\* This was the form of demanding quarter in battle.



should not talk so much to the purpose, of what it is not to the purpose to talk of." Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered, "To men of few words few laws are sufficient. Some people finding fault with Hecatæus the sophist, because, when admitted to one of the public repasts, he said nothing all the time, Archidamidas replied, "He that knows how to speak, knows also when to speak."

The manner of their repartees, which, as I said, were seasoned with humour, may be gathered from these instances. When a troublesome fellow was pestering Demaratus with impertinent questions, and who in particular several times repeated, "Who is the best man in Sparta?" He answered, "He that is least like you." To some who were commending the Eleans, for managing the Olympic games with so much justice and propriety, Agis said, "What great matter is it, if the Eleans do justice once in five years?" When a stranger was professing his regard for Theopompus, and saying that his own countrymen called him *Philolacon* (a lover of the Lacedæmonians,) the king answered him, "My good friend, it were much better, if they called you *Philopolites*" (a lover of your own countrymen.) Plistonax, the son of Pausanias, replied to an orator of Athens, who said the Lacedæmonians had no learning, "True, for we are the only people of Greece that have learned no ill of you." To one who asked what number of men there was in Sparta, Archidamidas said, "Enough to keep bad men at a distance."

Even when they indulged a vein of pleasantry, one might perceive that they would not use one unnecessary word, nor let an expression escape them

that had not some sense worth attending to. For one being asked to go and hear a person who imitated the nightingale to perfection, answered, "I have heard the nightingale herself." Another said, upon reading this epitaph,

n  
Victims of Mars, at Selinus they fell,  
Who quench'd the rage of tyranny,—

"And they deserved to fall, for, instead of *quenching* it, they should have let it *burn out*." A young man answered one that promised him some game cocks that would stand their death, "Give me those that will be the death of others." Another seeing some people carried into the country in litters, said, "May I never sit in any place where I cannot rise before the aged!" This was the manner of their apophthegms: so that it has been justly enough observed that the term *lokonizein* (to act the Lacedæmonian) is to be referred rather to the exercises of the mind than those of the body.

#### SUPERSTITION THE PARENT OF ATHEISM.

The atheist believes there are no gods; the superstitious would have none, but is a believer against his will, and would be an infidel if he durst; and be as glad to ease himself of the burden of his fear, as Tantalus would be to slip his head from under the great stone that hangs over him, and would bless the condition of the atheist, as absolute freedom, compared with his own. Indeed, the superstitious is an atheist in his heart; but is too much a coward to think as he is inclined. Moreover, atheism hath no hand at all in superstition; but superstition, as it gave

atheism its first birth, so it serves it ever since, it being the best apology it can make for itself ; which, although it be neither a good nor a fair one, yet is it the most specious and colourable. For men were not at first made atheists by any fault they found in the heavens, or stars, or seasons of the year ; or in those revolutions or motions of the sun about the earth that make the day and night ; nor yet by observing any mistake or disorder, either in the breeding of animals, or the production of fruits. No, it was the uncouth actions and ridiculous and senseless passions of superstition, her canting words, her foolish gestures, her charms, her magic, her freakish processions, her tabourings, her foul expiations, her vile methods of purgation, and her barbarous and inhuman penances, and bemirings of the temples ; it was these, I say, that gave occasion to many to affirm, it would be far happier there were no gods at all, than such as are pleased and delighted with such fantastical toys, and that thus abuse their votaries, and are incensed and pacified with trifles. Had it not been much better for the so much famed Gauls and Scythians, that they had neither thought, nor imagined, nor heard any thing of their gods, than to have believed them such as would be pleased with the blood of human sacrifices ; and that accounted such for the most complete and meritorious of expiations ? How much better had it been for the Carthaginians, if they had had either a Critias, or a Diagoras, for the first law maker, that so they might have believed neither god nor spirits, than to make such offerings to Saturn as they made ? not such as Empedocles speaks of, where he thus touches the sacrifices of beasts :

The sire his child, when in strange form he's caught,  
First praised, then killed it for his god : great sot !

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But they knowingly and wittingly themselves devoted their own children ; and they that had none of their own bought some poor people's, and then sacrificed them like lambs or pigeons, the poor mother standing by the while, without either a sigh or a tear : and if by chance she fetched a sigh, or let fall a tear, she lost the price of her child, and it was nevertheless sacrificed. All the places round the image were in the mean time filled with the noise of hautboys and tabors, to drown the poor infants' crying. Suppose we now the typhons and giants should depose the gods, and make themselves masters of mankind, what sort of sacrifices, think you, would they expect ? or what other expiations would they require ? King Xerxes's queen, Amestris, buried twelve men alive, as a sacrifice to Pluto, to prolong her own life ; and yet Pluto saith, this god is called in Greek *Hades*, because he is placid, wise, and wealthy ; and retains the souls of men by persuasion and oratory. That great naturalist Xenophanes, seeing the Egyptians beating their breasts, and lamenting at the solemn times of their devotions, gave them this pertinent and seasonable admonition—" If they are gods," said he, " don't cry for them : and if they are men, don't sacrifice to them." There is certainly no infirmity belonging to us, that either contains such a multiplicity of errors and fond passions, or that consists of such incongruous and incoherent opinions, as this of superstition doth. It behoves us therefore to do our utmost to escape it ; but withal, we must see

we do it safely and prudently ; and not run rashly and inconsiderately, as people do from the incursions of robbers, or from fire, and fall into bewildered and untrodden paths full of pits and precipices. For so some, while they would avoid superstition, leap over the golden mean of true piety, into the harsh and coarse extreme of atheism.

**TIMOLEON AND PAULUS ÆMILIUS COMPARED.**

If we consider these two great men as history has represented them, we shall find no striking difference between them in the comparison. Both carried on wars with very respectable enemies ; the one with the Macedonians, the other with the Carthaginians ; and both with extraordinary success. One of them conquered Macedon, and crushed the house of Antigonus, which had flourished in a succession of seven kings ; the other expelled tyranny out of Sicily, and restored that island to its ancient liberty. It may be in favour of Æmilius, that he had to do with Perseus when in his full strength, and when he had beaten the Romans ; and Timoleon with Dionysius, when reduced to very desperate circumstances : as, on the other hand, it may be observed to the advantage of Timoleon, that he subdued many tyrants, and defeated a great army of Carthaginians, with such forces as he happened to pick up, who were not veteran and experienced troops like those of Æmilius, but mercenaries and undisciplined men, who had been accustomed to fight only at their own pleasure. For equal exploits, with unequal means and preparations, reflect the greater glory on the general who performs them.

Both paid a strict regard to justice and integrity in their employments. Æmilius was prepared from the

first to behave so, by the laws and manners of his country ; but Timoleon's probity was owing entirely to himself. A proof of this is, that in the time of Æmilius good order universally prevailed among the Romans, through a spirit of obedience to their laws and usages, and a reverence of their fellow citizens ; whereas, not one of the Grecian generals who commanded in Sicily kept himself uncorrupted, except Dion : and many entertained a jealousy that even he affected monarchy, and dreamed of setting up such a regal authority as that in Lacedæmon. Timæus informs us, that the Syracusans sent away Gylippus loaded with infamy for his insatiable avarice and rapacity, while he had the command ; and many writers give account of the misdemeanours and breach of articles which Pharax the Spartan, and Calippus the Athenian, were guilty of, in hopes of gaining the sovereignty of Sicily. But what were these men, and on what power did they build such hopes ? Pharax was a follower of Dionysius, who was already expelled, and Calippus was an officer in the foreign troops in the service of Dion. But Timoleon was sent to be general of the Syracusans, at their earnest request ; he had not an army to provide, but found one ready formed, which cheerfully obeyed his orders ; and yet he employed this power for no other end than the destruction of their oppressive masters.

Yet again, it was to be admired in Æmilius, that, though he subdued so opulent a kingdom, he did not add one drachma to his substance. He would not touch, nor even look upon the money himself, though he gave many liberal gifts to others. I do not, however, blame Timoleon for accepting of a handsome house and lands : for it is no disgrace to take some-



thing out of so much, but to take nothing at all is better ; and that is the most consummate virtue which shows that it is above pecuniary considerations, even when it has the best claim to them.

As some bodies are able to bear heat, and others cold, but those are the strongest which are equally fit to endure either ; so the vigour and firmness of those minds are the greatest which are neither elated by prosperity, nor broken by adversity. And in this respect, *Æmilius* appears to have been superior ; for, in the great and severe misfortune of the loss of his sons, he kept up the same dignity of carriage as in the midst of the happiest success. But *Timoleon*, when he had acted as a patriot should, with regard to his brother, did not let his reason support him against his grief ; but becoming a prey to sorrow and remorse, for the space of twenty years he could not so much as look upon the place where the public business was transacted, much less take a part in it. A man should, indeed, be afraid and ashamed of what is really shameful ; but to shrink under every reflection upon his character, though it speaks a delicacy of temper, has nothing in it of true greatness of mind.

#### VIRTUE AND VICE.

It is apparent that clothes do not make a man warm by warming him themselves, or by imparting heat to him (for every garment is of itself cold, which is the reason that we see those that are very hot, and in a fever, often shifting and changing one thing for another) ; but that heat which a man exhales out of himself, the garment, lying close to his body, keeps together and contracts, and when it hath driven it

inward, it will not suffer it again to dissipate. This is the very case of external affairs too, and this it is that cheats vulgar heads, by making them think that if they might but inclose themselves in great houses, and keep together abundance of slaves and riches, they might then live to their own minds. But an agreeable and gay life is not to be found without us ; on the contrary, it is man, that, out of his own temper, as out of a spring, adds pleasure and gaiety to the things about him.

The house looks merrier when the fire burns ;

and wealth is the more agreeable, and fame and power the more resplendent, when they have the joy of the mind to accompany them. Since we see how that, through a mild and tame disposition, men can bear poverty, banishment, and old age, easily and sweetly. For as odours perfume thread-bare coats and poor rags, while prince Anchises's ulcer sent forth a loathsome purulence,

When the foul tent dript on his purple robe,

even so every state and condition of life, if accompanied with virtue, is undisturbed and delightful. But when vice is intermixed, it renders even the things that appear splendid, sumptuous and magnificent, most distasteful, nauseous, and unacceptable, to the possessors.

This man's thought happy in the market place,  
But when he opens his doors, hell is his case :

The woman rules all, commands, and brawls. Any one, however, may without any great difficulty get

rid of a wicked cross-grained wife, if he be but a man, and not a slave. But a man cannot write a bill of divorce to his vice, and thereby free himself from further trouble, and procure his own repose, by living apart ; but it still cohabits with him, and dwells in his very bowels, and cleaves to him both by night and by day.

It burns without a torch, makes green old age, being, through its vain glory, a burthensome fellow-traveller, and through its voracity a chargeable table-companion, and a troublesome bed-fellow, by breaking and spoiling one's sleep at night with cares, anxieties, and surmises. For when they do sleep, their body is indeed at rest and quiet, but their mind is, through superstition, in terrors, dreams, and frights.

When in my slumbers, sorrows fill me ;  
Then frightful dreams and visions kill me ;

saith one : just thus envy, fear, anger, and lust, affect us. For by day-time our vice, by looking abroad and fashioning herself to the manners of others, grows shamefaced, and finds herself obliged to mask her own disorders, and does not yield herself up wholly to her appetites, but oftentimes resists and struggles with them. But in times of sleep, when it escapes both the opinions of men and the laws, and is at the remotest distance from awe and respect, it stirs every desire, and raises up its malignity and lewdness. For *it attempts*, as Plato speaks, *the embraces of a mother* ; it purveys unlawful meats, and refrains from no sort of action, enjoying villany, as far as it is practicable, in shades and phantoms, that end in no real pleasure or accomplishment of

desire ; but have only power to stir up and enrage disorders and distempers.

Where then is the pleasure of vice, if there be nowhere to be found either freedom from care, or exemption from trouble, or satisfaction, or undisturbedness, or repose ? A sound complexion and good health of body gives, indeed, both place and birth to the pleasures of the flesh ; but there cannot be engendered a gaiety and cheerfulness in the mind, unless undauntedness, assurance, or an immovable serenity, be the foundation. Nay, if some hope or satisfaction should simper a little, this would be soon puddled or disturbed, by some sudden eruption of care, like a smooth sea by a rock. Heap up gold, gather together silver, raise up walks, fill your house with slaves, and the town with debtors ; if you do not appease the disorders of your own mind, and stint your insatiable desire, and deliver yourself from fears and cares, you do but rack wine for a man in a fever, and administer honey to a man disturbed with choler, and prepare meat and good cheer for people that have the flux or gripes, who can neither retain it, nor be strengthened by it, but are over and above spoiled by it. Do you not see how such persons loathe, spit out, and refuse, the finest and most costly meats, though they be proffered and forced upon them ? and how again, when their complexion alters, and good spirits, sweet blood, and a con-natural heat is engendered, they get up, and gladly and willingly eat brown bread, cheese, and cresses ? Such a disposition as this is it that reason works in the mind : and you will have sufficiency, if you will but learn what a notable and generous mind is. You will live luxuriously in poverty, and be a prince ;

and you will be as much in love with a vacant and private life as with that of a general or king. If you once apply to philosophy, you will never live without pleasure, but you will learn to be every where pleased, and with every thing. You will be pleased with wealth, for making you beneficial to many ; and with poverty, for not having much to care for ; with fame, for being honoured ; and with obscurity, for being unenvied.

THE END.





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